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**Gender Inequalities in Education: A
Case Study of the Girls' Stipend
Programme in Punjab, Pakistan**

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PhD

(2018)

**Gender Inequalities in Education: A
Case Study of the Girls' Stipend
Programme in Punjab, Pakistan**

Fariha Tajammal

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements of the Manchester
Metropolitan University for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy**

Department of Sociology

The Manchester Metropolitan University

(2018)

DEDICATED

To my parents

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Abstract

This study evaluates the impact of the Girls' Stipend Programme (GSP) – a gender-targeted conditional cash transfer (CCT) – on the educational rights of girls at middle and secondary levels of education in the Punjab Province of Pakistan. Using the Rights Framework (comprising of rights to, within and through education) and Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital and field, this study argues that the GSP in Punjab resulted in a short-term impact on girls' increased enrolment in middle schools. However, this has not expanded their rights through education i.e. the instrumental role of education in transforming gender inequalities and enhancing the capabilities of girls. There are high levels of girls' dropout from secondary level of schooling, even with the availability of the stipend, which has received scant attention in the project design and subsequent impact evaluations of the programme. This research further finds how the intersection of gender, poverty, culture and location hinders girls' right to education i.e. access. In the study region, a visible impact of GSP on the mind-set of both parents, aspiring to improve the level of their daughters' education was noted. However, parental perceptions (i.e. gendered habitus) about gender norms and patriarchal practices highlighted the limited value placed on the instrumental role of education in capabilities development and challenging gender inequalities in household relations. Despite lower levels of cultural and economic capital of households, a significant level of mothers' emotional involvement in their daughters' education was also noted. Nevertheless, the role of social capital (networks, particularly community support) was limited in the progression of girls into middle and high schools. Further, these were compounded with the limitations of institutional provision of schooling, which determine girls' rights within education, such as shortage of high schools, distance to schools, quality of learning and the alignment of the curriculum with the labour market opportunities. Regional differences in girls' educational rights were marked, as in the district of Rahim Yar Khan, a less developed district in southern Punjab, there was indeed a lower level of parental awareness on the use of stipend for girls' educational futures. It is hoped that this study will contribute to knowledge, policy and practice in understanding both household and institutional factors that affect not only girls' rights to but also rights within and through education.

List of Acronyms

AASHA	Alliance Against Sexual Harassment
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AJK	Azad Jammu and Kashmir
ANP	Awami National Party
APWA	All Pakistan Women's Association
CCT	Conditional Cash Transfer
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women
DDF	Deputy Director Finance
DDP	Deputy Director Planning
DFID	Department for International Development
DMO	District Monitoring Officer
DSS	Deputy Secretary Schools
EFA	Education for All
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Area
FLFP	Female Labour Force Participation
GMR	Global Monitoring Report
GRAP	Gender Reform Action Plan
GSP	Girls' Stipend Programme
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JUI(F)	Jamiat Ulema-e- Islam (Fazal ur Rehman)
KPK	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MEO	Monitoring and Evaluation Officer
MQM	Muttahida Qaumi Movement
NCLBA	No Child Left Behind Act
NPA	National Plan of Action

PCA	Principal Component Analysis
PD	Project Director
PESRP	Punjab Education Sector Reforms Programme
PMIU	Programme Monitoring and Implementation Unit
PPP	Pakistan Peoples Party
RYK	Rahim Yar Khan
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SDPI	Sustainable Development Policy Institute
TTP	Tehreek-i- Taliban Pakistan
WAF	Women Action Forum
WB	World Bank
WVS	Women's Voluntary Service

Contents

Acknowledgments	i
Abstract.....	ii
List of Acronyms	iii
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1. Objectives of the study.....	3
1.2. Female education and gender gaps in education.....	4
1.3. Context of the study: Pakistan	7
1.4. Structure of the Thesis	16
Chapter 2: Theorising Gender Inequality	19
2.1. Sex and gender	19
2.2. Structural and institutional approaches to gender inequality	23
2.2.1. Patriarchy	23
2.2.2. Intersecting differences.....	33
2.2.3. Gender Regimes.....	35
2.3. The Capability Approach	39
2.4. Conclusion	44
Chapter 3: Understanding Gendered Inequalities in Education.....	46
3.1. Gender and Education in the West.....	46
3.2. Global Neoliberal trend in Education	50
3.3. A Rights-based Approach to Education.....	52
3.2.1. Rights to Education.....	55
3.2.2. Rights within Education.....	62
3.2.3. Rights through Education	69
3.3. Bourdieu's Conceptual Apparatus	71
3.3.1. Habitus	72
3.3.2. Capital	73
3.3.3. Field	80
3.4. Conclusion	83
Chapter 4: Gender Regimes in Pakistan.....	84
4.1. Gender order in Pakistan.....	84
4.2. Gender regimes in Pakistan.....	87
4.2.1. The State	87
4.2.2. Religion.....	98

4.2.3. Health.....	100
4.2.4. Labour market.....	102
4.2.5. Family	105
4.3. Conclusion	114
Chapter 5: Research Methodology	115
5.1. Integrating Critical Realism and Feminist Perspective.....	115
5.2. Research Design.....	122
5.2.1. Case Study	122
5.2.2. A Mixed- Method Approach.....	123
5.2.3. Methods	125
5.3. Data Collection	127
5.3.1. The study region	128
5.3.2. Key informants	132
5.3.3. Survey sample.....	132
5.3.4. Semi-structured Interview Sample.....	137
5.3.5. Secondary Data	139
5.4. Data Analysis	139
5.5. Ethical Considerations	143
5.6. Limitations of the study	144
5.7. Conclusion	145
Chapter 6: Research Findings: Rights to and Rights within Education	146
6.1. Household level factors influencing girls' rights to education	146
6.1.1. Parental Attitudes about Education.....	146
6.1.2. Gendered Habitus	149
6.1.3. Impact of parental capitals on girls' education	162
6.2. Institutional factors influencing girls' right to and right within education	180
6.2.1. Factor 1: Physical quality of Schools.....	184
6.2.2. Factor 2: Role of teachers and school.....	186
6.2.3. Factor 3: Curriculum and the labour market.....	187
6.2.4. Factor 4: Distance to school.....	189
6.2.5. Factor 5: Safety and sexual harassment issues.....	191
6.3. Conclusion	193
Chapter 7: Research Findings: Perceptions on Rights through Education	195
7.1. Analysis of Extracted Factors: Rights through Education	195
7.1.1. Factor 1: Girls' education and capabilities development.....	199

7.1.2 Factor 2: Girls’ education and gendered practices in the household	219
7.1.3. Factor 3: Girls’ education and labour market opportunities	227
7.2. Views of public sector officials on the impact of GSP	231
7.3. Conclusion	237
Chapter 8: Research Findings: Dropout and Loss of Rights	240
8.1. Dropouts in the survey sample: An Overview	240
8.2. Perspective of public sector officials on Girls’ Retention, Transition and Dropout	246
8.2.1. Retention.....	248
8.2.2. Transition to secondary level	250
8.2.3. Dropout from secondary level	252
8.2.4. Reasons for dropout.....	253
8.3. Exploration of Dropout Causes in the Households	256
8.3.1. Material Context causing Girls’ Dropout.....	260
8.3.2. Gendered Causes of Girls’ Dropout.....	266
8.3.3. Role of Private schools in Dropout.....	271
8.4. Impact of Dropout: Capability Deprivation	272
8.5. Conclusion	279
Chapter 9: Conclusion and Recommendations	282
9.1. Main findings	283
9.2. Implications for Policy and Future Research	293
Appendices 1-10.....	297
References	338

Chapter 1: Introduction

Several countries (such as Tanzania, Uganda, Malawi, Kenya, Bangladesh), as well as international development agencies, have launched a number of interventions to address gender inequalities in education. Interventions include school fee waivers, free books, school-meal programmes (providing cooking oil, milk or midday snacks), uniform allowances, conditional cash transfers (CCTs) particularly the Girls' Stipend Programmes (GSPs) (Lewis and Lockheed 2006; King and Winthrop 2015). During the last decade, there has been a significant increase in the prevalence of CCTs/GSPs, and of impact evaluations to assess their effectiveness. According to Bastagli et al. (2016), 63 developing and transition countries have launched such interventions. GSPs vary in their scale, nature of conditions, eligibility of children and implementation strategies (World Bank 2011). However, their shared objective is to rectify gender bias within poor households, to increase female enrolments in the state secondary schools, to alleviate poverty and to provide health and education facilities to poor households in the developing countries (Gasper and Claudia 2010; Ahmed 2012). Stipend programmes include- among others- the *Oportunidades* in Mexico, the *Female Secondary School Stipend Project* in Bangladesh, the *Red de Protección Social* (RPS) in Nicaragua, the *Bolsa Escola* in Brazil, and *Programa de Asignación Familiar* (PRAF) in Honduras. This research aims to explore the nature of gender inequalities in education within Pakistan in the context of the Girls' Stipend Programme (GSP), a form of gender-targeted CCT.

Most stipend programmes increased immediate consumption by encouraging the use of educational and health services. The results observed so far appear to be consistent. Impact evaluations of these programmes in countries such as Brazil, Cambodia, Colombia, Mexico and Nicaragua, revealed positive short-term effects on the behaviours on which they were conditional. This includes increased enrolments and attainment, better health outcomes for girls, reduction in child labour, improvement in grade progression and delay in the age of marriage and childbirth (see Hoddinott et al. 2000; Behrman and Hoddinott 2001; Schultz 2004; Schurmann 2009; de Janvry et al. 2006; Chaudhury and Parajuli 2008; World Bank 2011; Saavedra and Garica 2012). Some studies, however, expressed scepticism about CCTs as an effective use of

resources to promote educational attainment in the case of overcrowding in classrooms, administrative inefficiency, the prioritisation of attendance outcomes over learning outcomes and the effectiveness of stipends for a heterogeneous population (see de la Brière & Rawlings 2006; Lewis and Lockheed 2006). There is also a gap regarding the medium and long-term impact of stipend programmes on human development outcomes, such as children's accumulation of human capital and their future employment and income. The World Bank (2011) noted that evidence is thin regarding the impact of stipend programmes on marriage and fertility decisions of beneficiaries. A less clear-cut pattern of impact was noted for learning and cognitive development outcomes as measured by test scores, information-processing ability, intelligence, reasoning and language development (Bastagli et al. 2016). Skoufias and Maro (2008) found that the Mexican *Oportunidades* was effective in reducing poverty; however, it had little effect on adult labour participation. Similarly, the RPS in Nicaragua increased school enrolment, although negative effects were noted when poor households were compelled to push their children into the labour market because of economic shocks resulting from severe droughts and dwindling coffee prices (Barham et al. 2009 cited in the World Bank 2011).

This study argues that the impact evaluation studies of CCTs/GSPs have not addressed the instrumental role of education in transforming gender inequalities and enhancing the capabilities of girls or the role of parental perceptions and aspirations in girls' education. Moreover, girls' dropout from the secondary level of schooling, even with the availability of the stipend, has received scant attention in the research on CCTs' impact. This study therefore intends to contribute to this body of knowledge through research conducted in the Punjab province of Pakistan. It will help in understanding the crucial factors that affect girls' access and participation in education within the wider remit of social and gendered structures and cause their temporary or permanent dropout. It is hoped that this research will contribute to policy and practice in terms of addressing the issue of institutional provision in the key sector of girls' education in Pakistan.

This chapter is structured as follows: Section One will present the research objective of this study; Section Two will explain the significance of female education and gender

gaps in education; Section Three will introduce the context of this study, that is Pakistan and Section Four will outline the structure of the thesis.

1.1. Objectives of the study

This study has three objectives. The first is to identify gender inequalities, in both the access to and outcomes of educational attainment, at both middle and secondary levels of education in Pakistan. The following research questions were explored in relation to this objective:

1. What are the familial constraints on girls' access to education in the study region?
2. What are the factors at the level of institutional provision which shape girls' access to and participation in education?

The second objective is to evaluate gender inequalities within the wider remit of social and gendered structures. This was achieved through the following research questions.

1. What are the structural and institutional causes of gender inequalities which affect gender relations?
2. What is the perceived impact of parental perceptions about girls' education on gender norms and capabilities development (such as bargaining power, tackling domestic violence and labour market participation)?

The third objective is to explore the retention of girls in education. The following research questions were probed in this context.

1. What is the impact of GSP on the retention, progression and transition of girls from the middle to the secondary level of schooling?
2. What is the level of dropouts and what are the causes and outcomes of girls' dropout?

The next section briefly discusses the importance of female education and gender gaps in education.

1.2. Female education and gender gaps in education

The centrality of female education to development as part of international commitments was ardently reinforced in Education for All (EFA) and the Millennium Development Goals¹ (MDGs). In the current Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs: 2016-2030), Goals 4 and 5 have particular relevance to women and girls as they relate to quality education and gender equality respectively. The targets and indicators of SDGs signify ending all forms of gender discrimination (see Appendix 1). Other global initiatives for girls' education include the United Nation's *Girls Education Initiative*, UNESCO's Global Partnership for Girls' and Women's Education, known as *Better Life, Better Future*, the *Malala Fund for Girls' Education* and *The Girl Effect* by Nike Inc. (the business retailer). The need to address gender inequality permeates all global initiatives; however, the reasons for gender equality range from arguments for social and economic efficiency to the fulfilment of human rights or women's empowerment (UNGEI 2012).

In general, education is vital and beneficial for individuals, communities and societies. It is of both intrinsic and instrumental significance in the realisation of social development (Wells 2009; Robeyns 2006; Raza and Murad 2010). For instance, education is considered the most important determinant of future life-chances and mobility out of poverty, particularly in developing country contexts (UNESCO 2005a; Lewin 2007; Wells 2009). The knowledge, skills and competencies acquired through education can transform capabilities and enhance value in the labour market. Since the poor are disproportionately affected by poverty, education can improve their livelihood chances by increasing their skills, income and economic security² (UNESCO 2014a). In particular, an increase in girls' secondary school enrolment is

¹ The **EFA** is a global commitment to provide quality basic education for all children, youth and adults. In April 2000, at the World Education Forum, Dakar, Senegal, 164 governments identified six goals to be achieved by 2015. The **MDGs** were the eight international development goals (2000- 2015) that 191 United Nations member states pledged to achieve following the United Nations Millennium Summit and the resultant Millennium Declaration in 2000 (UNESCO 2015a, UNO 2017).

² According to one estimate, if all students in low-income countries (such as Uganda, Rwanda, Somalia, Afghanistan, etc.) leave school with basic reading skills, 171 million people could be lifted out of poverty. This will reduce 12% of world poverty (UNESCO 2013).

linked with expanded participation of women in the labour force and their resultant contributions to the household and national income (Schurmann 2009 cited in Ahmed 2012).

Female education is a key to securing inter-generational transfer of knowledge, gender equality and social change (Subrahmanian 2007). It is strongly linked to development outcomes; for instance, a strong association between a mother's education and the wellbeing of children (in terms of improvement in children's nutrition, their health and household food security) has been noted (Huisman and Smits 2009; Omwani 2011). It also leads to an increased demand for family planning, thus reducing the fertility rate and child and maternal mortality rates³ (Gakidou et al. 2010). Education also works as an agent to build and enhance the capabilities of women by increasing their agency and empowerment. It is instrumental in developing critical consciousness and becomes a means in changing the patriarchal ideologies and different forms of structural inequalities (Jayaweera 1997; Reed 2008). It transforms individual values, beliefs and behaviours as the exposure to "modernising" institutions (such as schools) may inculcate new ideas and independence from traditional authority. For instance, education is helpful in raising awareness in women about their rights and enables them to participate in household decision-making processes (Ahmed 2012). These normative and attitudinal changes continue throughout the life cycle and alter an individual's relationship to the social structures (Benavot 1992).

Nevertheless, in developing countries, evidence shows that female education is hampered by issues such as the cost of schooling, distance to school, quality of schools, sexual harassment, lack of female teachers and role models, and the quality of the curriculum (Sperling and Winthrop 2016). The main thrust of education reforms has been on the right to education, rather than on rights within education and rights through education (Subrahmanian 2007). The gendered norms and practices held by parents and teachers often exert an adverse effect on the learning outcome of girls.

³ The effect of educational expansion on child health is immense, as 4.2 million deaths have been averted due to increased educational level of mothers. It has been observed that child mortality (under 5) is reduced by 7-9% if the mother's education is increased by one year of schooling. It is reduced to 58% if the mother's schooling is incremented by seven years (Gakidou et al. 2010).

Sex-stereotyped expectations reinforce inequitable treatment even when girls perform better than do boys. Future opportunities in the labour market further influence parental attitudes to girls' education (Chisamya et al. 2012).

A review of the progress on MDG 2, that is the achievement of universal primary education by 2015, revealed that many low-income countries were unable to achieve universal primary access and gender equality in education by the end of that year. Despite the increased enrolment of girls over the past decade and the narrowing of gender gaps at primary level, 62 million girls were denied the right to primary and secondary education (UNESCO 2015a). Gender inequalities in education are marked in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia (UNESCO 2014a). In 2011, out of 31 million out-of-school girls, (that is 54% of the total world population of out-of-school children), 60% were in Arab states and 57% were in South and West Asia (UNESCO 2014b). Gender inequalities at secondary school level are more pronounced (Lloyd 2013). Almost two-thirds of secondary school-age girls are out of school in sub-Saharan Africa, more than half in South Asia and 40% in the Arab world (King and Winthrop 2015). In developing countries, sustained educational access is still problematic in the poorest regions. For instance, the survival rate to the last primary grade in South and West Asia is 65.8% and the dropout rate is 34.2%; in Sub-Saharan Africa, 70.35% and 29.7% (UNESCO 2011 cited by Dunnea & Ananga 2013). Over 100 million young women living in low-income countries cannot read a single sentence, representing a generation left behind despite recent advances (UNESCO 2015b). A failure to complete secondary education can affect women's long-term capabilities and earning potential as the greatest returns on their schooling investment come from secondary education (Subrahmanyam 2016). In South Asia, Afghanistan and Pakistan are two countries where gender disparities even at primary education level are highest and are at the expense of girls. In Afghanistan, 71 girls are in school for every 100 boys, and in Pakistan 82 girls for every 100 boys (UNESCO 2014b). Due to the gendered perceptions of adolescent girls' roles and responsibilities in most developing countries, girls' enrolment rates fall in lower secondary school and further decline when they reach upper secondary school. For instance, in Pakistan, 74 girls for every 100 boys are enrolled in secondary schools (Winthrop and McGivney 2014).

The next section introduces Pakistan, the context of this study.

1.3. Context of the study: Pakistan

Pakistan is an Islamic Republic located in South Asia with a population of 185.1 million, of which 62% is rural and 38% is urban. It is the sixth most populated country in the world (WPR 2014; World Bank 2016). Pakistan has four provinces (Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan and KPK⁴), FATA⁵ and a part of Kashmir called AJK⁶. The country is ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous. The ethnic groups are Punjabis (45%), Pakhtuns or Pathans (15%), Sindhis (14%), Saraikis⁷ (8.4%), Muhajirs⁸ (7.6%), Balochis (3.5%), and other smaller groups (6.3%) (Livingston and O'Hanlon 2011: 13). Some ethnic and tribal groups exercise their own cultural and social norms and laws, particularly within the tribal areas, for example through *Jirga*⁹ (Patel 2003; Taizi 2007).

Pakistan is subject to several economic, social and political challenges. These include multiple interlinked issues in terms of poor quality of life affected by poverty, illiteracy, lack of basic infrastructure and services such as gas, water and electricity. This situation is further exacerbated by natural disasters (such as earthquakes and floods), religious fundamentalism and the on-going terrorism (Malik and Courtney 2011). Pakistan is confronted with two categories of terrorism: internal and external. The banned religious organisations/Islamist groups such as Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and Lashker-e-Jhangvi create instability. Regional identities (that is Sindhi, Balochi, Pathan, Saraike and Mohajir) dominate the idea of nationalism, with

⁴ Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (formerly NWFP, North West Frontier Province)

⁵ Federally Administered Tribal Areas

⁶ Azad Jammu and Kashmir

⁷ Saraikis are an ethno-linguistic group in southern Punjab

⁸ Muhajirs are Muslims who migrated to Pakistan after the partition of the Indian sub-continent in 1947 and settled mainly in Karachi and the Hyderabad districts of Sindh province.

⁹ *Jirga* refers to the board of elders (comprising two or more members of the local community) for conducting meetings and consultations or resolution of conflicts like distribution of land, property, blood feuds, blood money, etc. The Arab tribal community use the term *Shura* for such meetings and consultations, while in Persian these are called *Majlis* and in Punjabi and Hindi the word *Panchayat* is used (Taizi 2007).

ethnic terrorism in Karachi and Hyderabad districts of Sindh province and separatist terrorism in Balochistan province. Sectarian violence (Sunni/Shia conflict) is rampant in areas like Kuram, Para Chinari, D.I. Khan tribal belt and Southern Punjab. Other examples include attacks on schools (such as demolition of 75% of girls' school in Swat, KPK in 2007, the attack on Malala Yousafzai in 2012 and on the Army public school in Peshawar, KPK in 2014), railway tracks and gas pipelines. International terrorism includes attacks on high-value targets such as the President, Prime Minister, Marriott Hotel Islamabad, Sri Lankan Cricket Team, Army Headquarters and Naval Mehran Base. Lastly, the Jihadi terrorism/Islamic militancy due to the Afghan war, the political instability in Afghanistan and infiltration of militants in KPK province and the tribal belt of Pakistan pose a major threat (Irshad 2011). Currently, there is a military operation ongoing in the northern areas of KPK province of Pakistan against the TTP.

Agriculture is the predominant economic sector contributing 21% to the national Gross Domestic Product and employing about 45% of the total population (Sarwar and Abbasi 2013; Noor Memon et al. 2015; Rashid and Sheikh 2015). Marked differences in asset holdings and social inequalities are observed in rural areas, where sizeable landholdings are in the hands of a few and a large majority of workers serve as landless agricultural workers¹⁰ (Patel 2003). Rural areas in Pakistan are under-resourced in terms of education, health and transport facilities. Most villages lack civic amenities like electricity, a proper system of drainage, drinking water, hospitals and schools. Such conditions compel the village population to migrate to urban areas where better facilities of life and chances of livelihood are available (Shahbaz et al. 2007; Tayyaba 2012). Inter-regional inequalities and rural-urban disparities can be attributed to many factors, including geographical location, weak resource endowments, institutional weaknesses, levels of infrastructure and longstanding unequal power relations between the advantaged and the lagging regions (Shahbaz et al. 2007; WDR 2006 cited in Akhtar 2008). In regions where local elites capture power (for instance *Zamindars* in Punjab or *Waderas* in Sindh), disadvantaged racial and ethnic groups suffer from group-based inequalities which exacerbate regional

¹⁰ In Punjab, Sindh and KPK, 40% of rural land is owned by 2.5% of the households (Mumtaz and Noshirwani 2006).

inequalities (Akhtar 2008). There is considerable variation in development across sub-national levels of Pakistan. Two of its provinces, Baluchistan and KPK, are relatively less developed than Punjab and Sindh. Within Punjab, the southern part lags far behind the northern part in socio-economic development, whereas within Sindh, the rural-urban divide is marked (Akhtar 2008).

Pakistan adopted Structural Adjustment Programmes¹¹ (SAPs) in the early 1990s. However, poor governance, lack of transparency in economic policies, high levels of corruption, heavy burdens of internal and external debts and rising interest rate payments on these debts, a weak situation of law and order, and inappropriate implementation of economic policies have led to failure to improve socio-economic development. The SAPs resulted in widespread poverty and unequal distribution of resources for millions of people in Pakistan (Shahbaz et al. 2007). The overall human development ranking of Pakistan is very low; out of 186 countries Pakistan stands at 147 on United Nations' HDI¹² (UNDP 2015).

Pakistan is a signatory of many international covenants for the advancement for women, yet lags in basic parameters of human development, particularly with significant gender disparities in the education sector. Its performance in the education sector is among the worst in South Asia and this has been well documented in Global Development Reports¹³ (see MDG Report 2013-14). According to the *Economic Survey 2014-15*, the literacy rate of Pakistan is 58%: for males 70% and for females 47% (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics 2016). There exist wide disparities across gender, geographical locations (rural and urban) and provinces (Mukhtar 2006). In the rural areas of Pakistan, a large proportion of school-age children, mostly girls, have not acquired the fundamental knowledge and skills that would enable them to participate

¹¹ Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) are a form of economic reforms including privatisation of state-owned assets, deregulation, confiscation of price controls, trade liberalisation and financial reforms to improve quality of financial institutions.

¹² The Human Development Index is a composite index of longevity (life expectancy), education, and per capita income, which is used to rank countries according to their level of human development.

¹³ Of the 10 countries which account for 72% of the population of illiterate adults, Pakistan stands third (UNESCO 2014b). Pakistan ranked second in the list of ten countries with the highest out-of-school populations in 2011, and is one of 15 countries that failed to reach universal primary education by 2015 (UNESCO 2014b).

fully in their country's economic, social and political development (Tayyaba 2012). Illiteracy contributes in maintaining gender inequalities; illiterate women cannot develop their capabilities to challenge patriarchal ideologies. A Pakistani girl, on average, receives 2.5 years of schooling as compared to boys who receive five years (Latif 2009). In rural areas, the primary school completion rate for girls is three times lower than for boys (Herz and Sperling 2004).

The current political environment promotes women's educational opportunities, yet the cultural attitudes towards girls' education remain strongly biased and largely unchanged. Many factors contribute towards producing an illiterate generation of women, ranging from socio-cultural norms to the quality of the education system and labour market opportunities. The intra-household expenditure on sons' education and physical distance to schools, insecurity of the wider environment and infrastructure issues within the educational system (lack of basic facilities such as buildings, drinking water, electricity, latrines and furniture) further lead to girls' educational disadvantage (Aslam and Kingdon 2008; Aslam 2009; Mumtaz and Salway 2009; Malik and Courtney 2011). In addition, there exists a tension between the provision of modern secular education and the eagerness of religious communities to uphold and preserve their control over women. Many religious leaders view secular education as detrimental to the inter-generational transmission of religious values and beliefs through women, and consider it a western import, which 'pollutes' women's minds by giving them ideas about ways of life that conflict with Islam (Bradley and Saigol 2012). Thus, families that are more conservative foster the fear that educating a daughter will alienate her from traditional roles. In this way, gender, class and religion interact to limit girls' access to education (Jayaweera 1997).

The importance of educated women as role models within families and communities cannot be ignored (Malik and Courtney 2011). However, the education system in Pakistan shapes boys and girls differently and thus reinforces gender inequality. The design of the curriculum and the content of textbooks are powerful tools to imprint gender stereotypes and socio-cultural values in the minds of children thus contributing to the perpetuation of gender discrimination¹⁴ (Saleem and Zubair 2013). This hidden

¹⁴ Saleem and Zubair (2013) in a study of the content analysis of the Urdu and English textbooks of Grade 5 taught in public schools of Punjab, Pakistan found that such books do not depict societal

curriculum, reinforced by the system including teachers, moulds the gender-based values of future generations of children, often with discouraging effects. Another complexity of the education system is the medium of instruction that is creating a social and class divide (Najam 2002 cited in Reed 2008: 91). The medium of instruction in public schools is Urdu, the official language, while English is the medium of instruction in private and other elite educational institutions (Malik and Courtney 2011). Children from lower income households, whose first language is neither Urdu nor English, are disadvantaged and the language barrier further leads to high dropout rates. The dropout rates are higher for students transitioning from elementary to middle school and even higher for girls in both rural and urban areas (Farah 2007 cited in Latif 2009).

Pakistan is a signatory to all international declarations relating to education, such as the *Dakar World Education Forum, Education for All, Millennium Development Goals (2000-2015)* and *Sustainable Development Goals (2015-2030)* and on paper is committed to providing basic education to all its citizens. The major policy documents of Pakistan, like the *Education Sector Reform Action Plan, National Education Policy* and *Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper*, aim to restructure the education sector and produce a highly trained human workforce fully responsive to the needs of globalisation¹⁵. During the past two decades, Pakistan has had two major education policies: the National Education Policy of 1998-2010 and the National Education Policy 2009. The 18th Amendment to the Constitution of 1973 devolved school education to the provinces, which have their own Education Sector Reforms Programmes (see Pakistan EFA National Review Report 2015). The key concern of Government is to bridge gender disparities in literacy and enrolment (Raza and Murad 2010). However, the potential obstacle remains the lesser amount of financial resources allocated for social services. For instance, Pakistan's percentage expenditure

realities. The primary focus of these books is to highlight the achievement of men, simultaneously trivialising or ignoring the achievements of women. Thus, females are portrayed in domestic roles of mothers, wives and daughters, conforming to expectations in the patriarchal structure. Such portrayal does not allow any change to gender roles and social change.

¹⁵ The *National Education Policy 2009*, for instance, is intended to build a knowledge-based economy to be realised through graduates who are the building blocks of such an economy (Government of Pakistan 2009 cited in Malik and Courtney 2011).

on education is much lower than the poorest countries in Africa¹⁶; during the years from 2011 to 2014, it was 2.2% to 2.5% of the total budget¹⁷ (UNDP 2013; World Bank 2016). Therefore, the provision of free, compulsory and high-quality education (even at primary level) through an efficient system remains a challenge in Pakistan (Latif 2009; Planning Commission Pakistan 2013). To address these issues, a number of incentives such as fee waivers, free books, food supplements, educational vouchers and the GSP were initiated particularly to increase girls' enrolment and retention. The GSP in Punjab is discussed next.

The GSP in Punjab

Punjab is the second largest, most populous and industrialised province of Pakistan. Although it has the highest welfare indicators in comparison to other provinces, these are still among the lowest in South Asia. It has 36 districts categorized into three regions- North West, South and Central Punjab¹⁸ (Akhtar 2008). The provincial capital is Lahore, which is the political, economic and administrative hub of the province¹⁹. The province has more than half of country's population (73.5 million out of 180 million), making it the most significant province regarding socio-economic development with a larger impact as compared to other provinces (Khan 2012). The sex ratio of Punjab shows 107 males per 100 females based on the total population of 38 million males and 35.5 million females. Its economy is heavily dependent on agriculture- the major employment sector. The total cultivated area is 56.8% with primary crops including wheat, rice and cotton (Bureau of Statistics Punjab 2015).

¹⁶ For instance, the Republic of Congo spends 6.2% on education (World Bank 2016).

¹⁷ The global standard of education expenditure is at least 4% of a country's GDP.

¹⁸ The fieldwork for this study was conducted in three districts, namely Kasur, Okara and Rahim Yar Khan (RYK) of Punjab (see Chapter 5).

¹⁹ Lahore is the second largest, second most populous city of Pakistan which has a historical and cultural significance. It is also one of the richest and most liberal cities of Pakistan which is also called "The Heart of Pakistan" (Aser.org 2008). As compared to other cities, Lahore has more colleges and universities which give it a status of Pakistan's educational capital having a literacy rate of 64%. It is the largest producer of professionals in different fields like public administration, science, technology, IT, engineering, medicine, nuclear sciences etc. The administrative headquarter of the province is the Civil Secretariat- the house of all government departments and the place of my posting.

According to the *Economic Survey of Pakistan 2014-15*, the literacy rate in Punjab province is 61%, the highest among all provinces in the country (70.4% for males and 53.3% for females). In urban areas, this ratio is 80% and 75%, and in rural areas 64.9% for males and 44.1% for females (Ministry of Finance, Pakistan 2015). There is a shortage of high schools and most of the existing schools are inaccessible to many households predominantly in rural areas which hinders girls' access to school. Moreover, large gender disparities in educational opportunities and attainment across the districts of the province loom large (World Bank 2011). In the rural areas of Punjab, there are significant gender gaps in educational attainment. The cost of girls' schooling and low perceived returns affect girls' education critically (Qureshi 2015). Despite having an elaborate administrative structure, Punjab has poor educational outcomes in terms of enrolments and dropouts, low level of learning in schools and poor transition from middle to high levels of schooling. The poorest households and the southern part of Punjab have the fewest children enrolled (Habib 2013).

The education reforms in Punjab date back to the colonial rule. Following the 1857 War of Independence, Muslims faced a deliberate exclusion by the British colonial rulers as well as voluntary withdrawal from the political scene (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987). Sir Syed Ahmed Khan opposed this and it led to the establishment of Muhammadan Anglo Oriental College (MAO) at Aligarh in 1875 (Ivermee 2015). Although Syed Ahmed himself did not advocate women's education, many of his followers did. Later in 1885, *Anjuman Himayat-e-Islam* (The Association for the Service of Islam) played an important role in promoting women's education in Lahore Punjab by opening five elementary schools (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987). During 1904-11, various Muslim girls' schools were opened in Aligarh, Lahore, Karachi and other places accompanied by numerous women's newspapers and journals (ibid.). The role of Kinnaird College, the first women's college in Lahore, Punjab, in imparting higher education to women has been well noted (see Maskiell 1985). After the creation of Pakistan, the first educational conference was held in 1947 at Karachi wherein Women Education Committee made many recommendations for the improvement of female education. In 1959, the Commission on National Education was constituted which reviewed and revised the whole system of education including women's education (Parveen 2008). Further efforts to expand particularly primary education are

evident in the three Five Year Plans (1955-60, 1960-65 and 1965-70), the Education Policy from 1972-1980, the Twenty-Year Perspective Plan 1965-85 and the Education Policy 1993-2000 (for a detailed discussion see Shoeb et al. 2017).

Punjab was the first province to launch the broader education sector reforms in 2003 under the Punjab Education Sector Reform Programme (PESRP). The Punjab government meets most of the PESRP's costs (about US\$ 3.5 billion) with partial financial support from donors, mainly the World Bank (US\$ 350 million) and DFID (US\$ 200 million). The PESRP has three overarching goals: improving access, quality and governance in education (Habib 2013). To increase the demand for girls' education in poor families, a targeted educational intervention, the GSP, was launched as one component of the PESRP in 2004²⁰. This programme was in alignment with the national decentralisation of social service delivery and was part of nation-wide education sector reforms. The institutional provision targeted to improve the financial capacity of the education sector at provincial and district levels, increased spending on education in terms of school infrastructure, distribution of free textbooks, recruitment of new teachers and strengthening of school councils. The main objective was to improve girls' enrolment in middle and secondary schools by addressing the constraints of affordability and distance. The stipend (a cash transfer of 600 Pakistani Rupees²¹) is disbursed to girls in Grades 6-8 every three months. This is active in 16 districts²² with low female literacy levels, on the condition of meeting the 80% school attendance criterion. In 2006, it was extended to high-school girls and the amount was increased to PKR 900 quarterly (ibid.). A supplemental pilot project was started in 2013 in two stipend districts. This programme is now in its third phase (PMIU.org).

Chaudhury and Parajuli (2008) analysed the impact of the Punjab GSP on female middle school enrolment after the first two years of its implementation. They

²⁰ Other components include free books, fee waivers, voucher scheme, improving school infrastructure and facilities, hiring new teachers, special cash prize for position holders, teaching of science and maths in English etc. (see school reform road map website <http://schools.punjab.gov.pk/schoolroadmap>)

²¹ Approximately £4.00 (as converted on 11-12-2017)

²² Bahawalnagar, Bahawalpur, Bhakkar, Chinniot, Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang, Kasur, Khanewal, Layyah, Lodhran, Muzaffargarh, Okara, Pakpattan, Rajanpur, Rahim Yar Khan and Vehari

compared the changes in the number of girls enrolled in middle schools in 2003 and in 2005 (that is before and after the launch of the GSP) in both stipend and non-stipend districts. They noted a modest programme effect in terms of increased female enrolment in public schools. In 2011, the Independent Evaluation Group of the World Bank (WB) conducted an impact evaluation of the same GSP. The aim was to realise the medium-term effect of GSP on the educational outcomes of adolescent girls who had benefited from the intervention for up to four years. The findings of the WB Group's study revealed that the GSP helped adolescent girls in their progression through and completion of middle school, reduced their unpaid labour participation, and helped in delaying marriage and having fewer children. The short-term impact in terms of increased enrolment was sustained across different grades in middle school²³; also, the likelihood of transitioning to high school and completing at least one high-school grade was noted. The WB's study also found that the programme did not affect the educational outcomes of boys living with eligible girls in the same household; however, the programme appeared to divert these boys to private schools at the primary level. There was suggestive evidence that the programme may have important implications for future productivity and welfare of beneficiaries in terms of their increased incomes and effects on their reproductive lives. However, the study emphasised that these findings are still a partial picture requiring further research and investigation: for instance, impacts on educational attainment, improvement in girls' cognitive development, their labour force participation, marriage, and fertility (World Bank 2011).

In another study, Masood (2015) investigated the impact of GSP (after ten years of its implementation) on girls' school enrolment, middle and high school completion, and their marriage and fertility outcomes in rural areas of stipend-target districts in Punjab province. Masood (2015) noted that the GSP had a short- and medium-term impact on the enrolment of girls aged 6-18, but had no measurable significant impact after 2008 particularly on the completion of middle and high school by eligible girls. As far as non-schooling outcomes were concerned, rural girls aged 12-30 were adversely affected by this programme. Such girls were more likely to be married off early and

²³ In 2012, the Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI) Pakistan conducted a social impact analysis of the GSP in four districts of KPK province. The findings indicated an increased female enrolment in middle schools particularly in the rural areas as compared to the urban areas.

to have children very early. This was due to the socio-cultural norms practised in the rural areas and the preferences of husbands and mothers-in-law for young and uneducated women who usually stay at home.

This study aims to contribute to this growing body of literature on the impact of GSP on girls' educational opportunities and outcomes and to analyse the factors which influence parental perceptions and aspirations regarding girls' education. It also aims to explore the factors which lead to girls' dropout even with the availability of financial incentive.

The next section presents the structure of the thesis.

1.4. Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is organised around the theoretical framework presented in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 and the research design in Chapter 5. The research findings are presented in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 and a conclusion is provided in Chapter 9.

Chapter Two reviews selected theoretical and analytical approaches to understanding gender inequalities, such as patriarchy, intersecting differences and gender regimes. The theoretical discussion of gender illustrates how gender stereotypes, socialisation and practices make or mar the life chances and outcomes particularly of women. The persistence of patriarchy and male domination in households and institutions is discussed. This chapter also discusses how patriarchy has changed over the last two centuries. The concept of intersecting differences (such as gender, class, race, religion, ethnicity, etc.) is explored. Drawing upon Connell's (1987, 2002) ideas of gender order and gender regimes, this chapter presents the institutional approach to gender inequalities. Lastly, the capability approach is discussed to assess women's quality of life in the context of developing countries and to address gender inequality.

Chapter Three discusses how gender ideologies and stereotypes have a strong bearing both on access to girls' education and its continuity and outcomes. It reviews selected theoretical frameworks to explore the nature of gender inequalities in primary and secondary education. Briefly discussing gender and education in the West and the global trend of neoliberalism in education, this chapter focuses on gender issues in education in developing contexts. Using a rights-based approach to education, it

Chapter 1: Introduction

highlights the household and institutional-level factors that affect female education in developing countries. Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital and field are discussed to explore how social and material contexts generate different forms of social reproduction and gender inequalities in developing countries.

Chapter Four describes the gender order and gender regimes of Pakistani society. It discusses how they obstruct women's opportunities and social development, particularly how their educational opportunities are defined by gendered and cultural ideologies and practices. The gender regimes which are discussed are the state, religion, health, labour market and family.

Chapter Five presents the methodology adopted for this study which is the integration of critical realism and a feminist perspective. The issues of reflexivity and positionality are also reflected upon in this chapter. The research design, based on a case study and a mixed-method approach is discussed. The primary data was collected through a survey of 120 parents of girls who attended school in Grade 8 in 2014 in the study region. In addition, semi-structured interviews with 15 public sector officials of provincial and district departments of education and with 18 parents of girls who dropped out in Grade 9 in 2015 were also conducted. The data collection process, sampling, data analysis procedure and ethical considerations are also part of this chapter.

Chapter Six presents the research findings regarding girls' rights to education in relation to access to school and participation as well as rights within education, that is the educational environment. Findings regarding parental awareness about education in general and about girls' education in particular are presented. Further, this chapter explores the main determinants that enable or constrain girls' rights to and within education at the level of households and at the level of institutional provision across the study region.

Chapter Seven explores the impact of the GSP on girls' rights through education in terms of the outcomes beyond education related to the development of capabilities such as empowerment, participation in household decision-making, labour market opportunities and the inter-generational transmission of capital. The perceptions and expectations of parents and institutional providers about these outcomes are discussed.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Chapter Eight analyses the impact of GSP on the retention and transition of girls from middle to secondary school (that is from Grade 8 to Grade 9). The factors that affect girls' retention at secondary level are explored in detail. The chapter discusses the extent of dropout among girls, through exploring their causes and resultant impact of their withdrawal from the education system. A localised exploration of the dropout process highlights the gendered reasons behind girls' dropout and discusses how such loss of girls' educational rights lead to a capability deprivation.

Chapter Nine concludes this study by presenting the main findings and implications for policy and future research.

Chapter 2: Theorising Gender Inequality

This chapter conceptualises gender inequality by exploring structural and institutional approaches. As one of the organising principles of social life, gender gives meaning not only to individuals but also to institutions, thus sustaining gender inequalities. Often “gender” is used interchangeably with “sex” and there is disagreement over these notions. Section One explores these terms. Section Two illustrates various approaches to theorising gender inequalities, starting from patriarchy as a conceptualisation of the structural approach. It then discusses masculine domination as the background condition for gender ideologies and patriarchal practices. The persistence of patriarchy will be reviewed briefly. The concept of intersecting differences, which, other than gender, considers multiple positions of disadvantages like class, race, religion and ethnicity, is part of Section Two. This section also incorporates the institutional approach to gender inequalities based on Connell’s (1987, 2002) idea of gender regimes. Section Three presents Amartya Sen’s capability approach as a promising way to assess women’s quality of life in the context of developing countries. Section Four concludes the chapter.

2.1. Sex and gender

A distinction is often made between the sex people are born with and how it influences their lives, which is gender (Jackson 2010). A highly influential view regarding differences between men and women rests on the notion of sexual dimorphism or biological determinism, which means that sex marks a distinction between two categories of people who are different physically and genetically (Wharton 2005). This view normally seeks scientific explanations ranging from the visibility of genitalia at birth, hormonal influence on human behaviour, emotions and personality to brain lateralisation²⁴. In the alternative view, “gender is a term that has psychological and

²⁴ For instance, men are seen as aggressive and women as emotional; the dominance of the left hemisphere of the brain in girls suggests their greater verbal ability and that of the right in boys shows that they are better in spatial and mathematics tests (Fine 2010; Archer and Lloyd 2002).

cultural connotations; if the proper terms for sex are ‘male’ and ‘female’, the corresponding terms for gender are ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’; these latter might be quite independent of (biological) sex” (Stoller 1968: 9). Thus, sex is the “ascribed” status (the labelling of male/female) and gender is the “achieved” status (becoming a boy/girl, a man/woman)²⁵ (Fenstermaker and West 2002) or, sex is the biological raw material that is transformed into gender by culture (Rubin 1975; Corber and Valocchi 2003 cited by Jackson 2010). Feminists, who differentiate between the physiological characteristics and social roles of men and women, typically reject biological essentialism. They approach gender relations through the activities of men and women, their behaviour and interaction (Chodorow 1978; Connell 1987; Moore 1988; Stolen 1991). Oakley famously distinguished sex and gender:

‘Sex’ is a word that refers to the biological differences between male and female: the visible difference in genitalia, the related difference in procreative function. ‘Gender’, however, is a matter of culture: it refers to the social classification into ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ (1972: 16).

This implies that people are born female or male, but they learn to be girls and boys/women and men²⁶ (Williams et al. 1994, Elson 1995). Through gender socialisation²⁷, they are taught the appropriate behaviour and attitudes, roles and activities in relation to other people. Their gender identities are made through this learned behaviour and their gender roles are thus determined (Claire 2004). In this way, gender not only shapes how we identify ourselves and view the world but also how others identify and relate to us and how we are located within social structures. For example, women are traditionally associated with childbearing and rearing, emotional and caretaking roles, responsible for and managing the household, whereas men are associated with waged labour, physical strength, intellectual achievements and political agency (Peterson and Runyan 1999). This gender labelling is so powerful

²⁵ “Sex was ascribed by biology: anatomy, hormones, and physiology. Gender was an achieved status: that which is constructed through psychological, cultural, and social means” (West and Zimmerman 2002: 3).

²⁶ Role enactment in the conventional sense, or gender “display” (Goffman 1976 cited in West and Zimmerman 2002), or “learning gender competence” (Connell 2002: 81).

²⁷ Gender socialisation refers to sex-role stereotyping or childhood socialisation (internalisation) of girls and boys into mutually exclusive gender roles (Connell 1987).

that even when women work for wages, they are typically employed in “gendered niches”²⁸ (Crompton 1997 cited in Bradley 2013: 102).

Such views also underlie the sexual division of labour in the private and public lives of individuals (Parsons 1955). Gendered concepts and practices shape the world around us and the diversity and differentiation existing within one gender as well as between both genders is often marred by the seductive binaries (male/female or boy/girl). However, it cannot be assumed that the sexual division of labour is universal across all cultures (Oakley 1974). Masculinities and femininities change when people move between groups and places and through space and time (Paechter 2003 cited by Jackson 2010). The specific meanings of masculinity and femininity and the meanings which are given to them vary dramatically over time and across cultures²⁹ (Peterson and Runyan 1999). For instance, while discussing masculinity, Connell (1995; 2002) argues that biological and cultural factors are not separate but interacting aspects of gender. Since bodies cannot exist in isolation of the societies, they are active agents in social processes and actions. It implies that “being a man or a woman, then, is not a fixed state. It is a becoming, a condition actively under construction”³⁰ (Connell 2002: 4). The gender patterns that appear very rigid and stark on the surface, when examined closely appear to be very fluid, complex and uncertain (ibid.). Butler (1999) also denies the distinction between sex and gender; for her, both are performances which are repeatedly acted out (*gender performativity*) and people act to be male/female and masculine/feminine instead of just being these things. Such performativity is enforced by culture and regulatory practices. It is produced, negotiated and sustained in daily

²⁸ The areas which are considered as women’s work, for example, counselling, welfare services, clerical support, cleaning, etc.

²⁹ For example, the ideals of masculinity have changed considerably from military heroism and political prowess in feudalism to competitive individualism, reason, self-control or self-denial in the modern world. However, these concepts of masculinity do not exist in matrilineal cultures; “queen mothers” in Ghana and “clan mothers” in many Native American societies have been given power and leadership roles based on their presumed feminine quality of regeneration. In certain patrilineal or patrilocal cultures, men are not always leaders and women do not exclusively maintain the home and caring for children. Through such variations in the meanings attached to femininity and masculinity, it becomes clear that gender is not fixed or predetermined. Rather it is always shaped by context (Peterson and Runyan 1999).

³⁰ “One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman” as de Beauvoir (1973: 301 cited in Bradley 2013: 19) put it in her classic phrase.

interaction and works as a powerful meta-lens through which we see and organise reality (Peterson and Runyan 1999). Thus, gender becomes a “lived experience” that “refers to aspects of our lives that are all too real” and which “impacts on the experiences of each one of us as individual” (Bradley 2013: 5-6). This process of creating gender differences is also called *gendering* – an alternative to gender socialisation which operates at three levels (micro or individual, meso or institutional and macro or societal) to maintain gender inequalities and gender differences (Bradley 2013: 25).

Gender is also visible in hierarchical divisions between women and men signifying women’s subordination to men (Jackson and Scott 2002). This gender subordination defines asymmetry between males and females suggesting the presence of immovable social forces (Elson 1995). The oppositional differences are typically constructed in the form of a dichotomy which places masculinity in opposition to femininity. For instance, the dominant masculinity is particularly associated with qualities such as rationality, hard-headedness, ambition and strength. A man is considered non-masculine or feminine if he shows emotion, soft headedness, passivity or weakness. Similarly, a woman is considered as masculine if she displays hard headedness and an ambitious nature. This relationship between masculinity and femininity is significantly consistent across many cultures in assigning greater value to that which is masculine and lesser value to that which is feminine, thus establishing a hierarchical (or unequal) relationship (Peterson and Runyan 1999). However, if seen through a gender-sensitive lens, we can understand that the construction of masculinity (agency, control, aggression) is not independent of but relies upon opposing constructions of femininity (passivity, dependence, vulnerability) (Peterson and Runyan 2010).

The gender differences between women and men occur within households as well as within cultures. These differences are reflected in roles, responsibilities, access to resources, constraints, opportunities, needs, perceptions and views held by men and women (Moser 1993). Throughout the world, women are less powerful than men of a similar economic and social position. The political nature of gender (as a system of difference construction and hierarchical dichotomy production) indicates that gender is about power and the power is gendered (Peterson and Runyan 2010). Learning and

“doing gender” are, therefore, intertwined with power relations between males and females in the wider society (Bradley 2013).

Gender is also seen as something that is only relevant to women as it was vigorously adopted by feminists to justify women’s inferior status in society³¹. However, gender is not a synonym for women, but recognises both women and men and their interdependent relationships. It focuses not only women as a homogeneous group, but on the roles and needs of both men and women (Moser 1993). Thus, a rethinking of men’s role and masculinity is necessary. Since men are also loving and caring, framing them in a single image of dominant power and authority could be questioned (Jain 2011). If gender arrangements are sources of injustice and harm, they may also be a source of pleasure and recognition (Connell 2002). Nevertheless, the concept of gender opened new avenues to analyse gender inequalities and to consider the hierarchical division and power relationships from different angles (Delphy 1993).

The next section discusses the structural and institutional approaches to gender inequalities including patriarchy, intersecting differences and the concept of gender order/ regimes.

2.2. Structural and institutional approaches to gender inequality

2.2.1. Patriarchy

Patriarchy is an essential, indispensable, problematic as well as promising concept in feminist thought. Literally, it means rule of father; in other words, the core meaning of patriarchy is parental power (Therborn 2004). However, it is widely used to encapsulate the pervasiveness of women’s subordination, male domination and gender inequality within both households and society in general (Beechey 1979; Lerner 1986; Acker 1989; Walby 1990; Hunnicutt 2009; Ogle and Batton 2009). There is a lack of consensus regarding the definition of patriarchy and this disagreement has made it an

³¹ As Oakley states, “gender was invented to help explain women’s position: men neither wonder about theirs nor need to explain it” (1997: 30).

“explanatory wildcard” (Ogle and Batton 2009: 162). Assumptions about its nature and origin vary according to the feminist perspective, which ranges from a simple liberal view to a more complex radical feminism (Ogle & Batton 2009; Einspahr 2010). For liberal feminists, both men and women are suppressed not by the structures and institutions of society but by its culture and individual attitudes (Abbott et al. 2005). Liberalism conceives women’s subordination in numerous small-scale deprivations; however, women are particularly disadvantaged in two main areas: denial of equal rights in education, and employment (Walby 1990). Liberal feminism³² is more popular and less challenging to existing values. It aims for gradual change in society through education, political campaigning and legal reforms (such as the gains for women in the public sphere: the vote, equal work opportunities and legal rights over property and marriage) as a way to combat discrimination and gender inequality (Bradley 1996; 2013). Liberal feminism is unable to offer any account of structural sources of inequality and the interconnectedness between its different forms, such as reasons for the persistence of patriarchal attitudes (Walby 1990; Abbott et al. 2005). It does not question the gendered cultural assumptions which underlie social arrangements (Bradley 1996).

Marxist feminists approached gender as a system of oppressive relations and consider gender inequality to be derived from capitalism rather than an independent system of patriarchy (Walby 1990; Bradley 2013). The focus is on economic aspects of gender³³, such as women as waged labour, women’s exploitation as a labour reserve and the contribution of domestic labour to capitalist accumulation (Bradley 1996). The capitalists are the principal beneficiaries of women’s unpaid work as housewives and mothers³⁴ (Beechey 1979). The family is considered to benefit capitalism by providing a cheap workforce for day-to-day care such as preparing food, cleaning clothes and

³² It is also called ‘equal rights’ feminism or ‘common-sense’ feminism (Banks 1981 and Bryson 1999 cited in Bradley 2013: 46-47). Liberal feminism seeks reforms within the system rather than transforming the system (Bradley 1996).

³³ In Marxist feminism, gender is seen analogous to class. In capitalist societies, class determines the exploitative relations between property-owning capitalists (bourgeoisie) and the propertyless proletariat (working class) where the latter are forced to sell their labour to the capitalist employers to survive. Similarly, men in the family appropriated women’s labour for their benefit (Bradley 2013).

³⁴ Since new generations of the labour force are raised and produced by women free of cost.

providing and preparing the next generation of workers (Walby 1990). The ownership of property and the means of production give power to men while denying the same to women. Hartmann (1979; 1981) believed capitalism and patriarchy are inter-twined. She analysed the inter-relationship of male power over women and the controlling of women's labour by men in capitalist systems and women's sexuality in the family. Bradley (2013) argued that in the West, things have altered as women have attained many rights through a number of legislative reforms (such as the Women's Property Act 1882). However, the Marxist analysis may still apply in societies where women do not have the right to work or to own property, such as in certain parts of the Arab world and Asia. Marxist feminism, however, places too much emphasis on women's position in relation to capitalism and ignores the everyday experiences of women and their relationship with men (Abbott et al. 2005).

Radical feminists consider patriarchy as the most important and fundamental concept to explain gender inequalities in society. They have focused on male domination and female oppression, suggesting that men benefit from women's subordination (Beechey 1979; Walby 1990; Jonson 1992). For instance, Kate Millet (1971), Juliet Mitchell (1971) and Gayle Rubin (1975) were early radical feminists who linked gender to a theory of inequality and women's oppression that is *patriarchy* (Bradley 2013). Radical feminists, however, differ over the basis of male supremacy, although they generally take account of appropriation of women's sexuality and bodies and male violence³⁵ (Walby 1990). Millet (1971) argued that political relationships are not confined to parliaments but also exist between men and women (*the personal is political*), forming the basis of male domination. Firestone (1971) considered gender inequality rooted in women's biology, particularly in their ability to give birth. Rosaldo (1974) argued that the division between the public and private world is the main reason for women's subordination. For Daly (1978), Dworkin (1981) and Brownmiller (1981), male aggression (rape, sexual violence and pornography) is responsible for women's oppression and the maintenance of male power. Radical

³⁵ For instance, sexual practice is considered to be socially constructed around male notions of desire; sexuality is seen as a major site of male domination through which men impose their notions of femininity. Institutionalisation of heterosexuality and male violence (rape and battering of women) is considered a mechanism to control women (Walby 1990).

feminists' version of patriarchy has been criticised because of its attack on biological essentialism and false universalism, considering women's oppression a universal, trans-cultural and trans-historical phenomenon ignoring the variations in women's situations on the basis of ethnicity, class and race (Acker 1989; Walby 1990; Bradley 1996; Bryson 1999). The Marxist and radical perspectives have been synthesised by dual-system theorists who argue that both systems (capitalism and patriarchy) contribute to structuring gender relations; gender inequality is the result of a "capitalist-patriarchal society" (Walby 1990: 5).

Rowbotham (1981) criticised the idea of patriarchy and the ideology of universal male domination³⁶. Since patriarchy defines women's nature as biologically different and not culturally determined, it therefore "implies a structure which is fixed and suggests a fatalistic submission (Rowbotham 1979: 970 cited in Pateman 1988: 29). It was criticised because of over-simplifying power relations, suggesting a "false universalism" in women and even ignoring the differences among men (Hunnicut 2009: 554). Walby (1990: 1), however, stressed that "patriarchy is indispensable for an analysis of gender inequality". Bradley (1996) argued that despite the criticism, feminists have been reluctant to abandon the term patriarchy. However, the presence of only one base of women's subordination (for instance, reproduction or rape) can be fatal for evaluating historical changes and cultural variations. Walby (1990: 1 and 20) therefore suggested a "new way of theorising patriarchy" through six patriarchal structures which have causal effects upon each other, both reinforcing and blocking but are relatively autonomous". The first structure is the patriarchal mode of household production in which women are producers of (unpaid) household labour and men are the expropriators of their labour. The second structure is paid work which limits women's access to better-paid jobs and segregates them into less-skilled jobs. The state, being the third structure, operates a systematic bias towards women in its actions and policies. The fourth structure is male violence, which is routinely experienced by women and influences their decisions for fear of male violence. It is legitimated by the state through its non-interference policy in family affairs, except in exceptional

³⁶ Rowbotham (1981) argued that the concept of patriarchy ignores variations in the balance of power between men and women in different societies and how this power is exercised. It also rules out the possibility of both sexes being equal or women being dominant.

cases. The fifth structure is compulsory heterosexuality and sexual double standards, and the last is patriarchal cultural institutions like religion, education and media (Walby 1990). Thus, patriarchy is “a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women” (Walby 1990: 20). Walby’s work has been criticised as an arbitrary exercise to create patriarchy as a system sustained by substructures³⁷ (see Pollert 1996); or for being overly monolithic and not considering differences in the fortunes of different groups of women (Bradley 2013). Walby (1997) later abandoned the use of patriarchy, replacing it with the idea of “gender regime” which she borrowed from Connell (1987). This will be discussed in Section 2.2.3.

A patriarchal system is situated within the field of hierarchies functioning as a model of dominance: old people dominate young, men dominate women, men dominate men, white dominate black, developed countries dominate developing nations, and humans dominate nature (Hunnicut 2009). In agrarian patriarchal societies, males hold power in the private realm of households and enjoy arbitrary power over junior males, females and children; while in the public sphere, male patriarchs share power. The traditional patriarchy gives fathers power over sons (paternal power) and husbands over wives³⁸ (conjugal power) (Pateman 1988). Mitchell (1975) referred to the inferiorised psychology of women developed in a kinship system in which men have all the powers as fathers and in which men exchange women. In modern civil society, this power has given way to a fraternal pact in which all men are equal and women are subordinated to men as men (Pateman 1988). This is also called male bonding or fratriarchy (rule of brothers) (Hearn 1992 cited in Bradley 2013). In this sense, patriarchy is a set of social relations between men which have a material base and which create interdependence and solidarity amongst men enabling them to dominate women. All men are united in their shared relationship of dominance even if they

³⁷ Pollert (1996: 645) argues that patriarchy is not a system like capitalism that is constrained to pursue profit; this is not the case with gender systems since men and women treat each other differently and can even change their sex.

³⁸ Therborn (2004) is of the view that patriarchy has two basic dimensions: the rule of the father and the rule of the husband. Powerful fathers tend to be powerful husbands, enjoying various prerogatives in terms of family decision making, in controlling their wives, practising polygyny and having sexual double standards.

occupy different hierarchical positions based on class, race and ethnicity³⁹ (Coetzee 2001). Connell (2002: 142) defines this as the “*patriarchal dividend*: the advantage to men as a group for maintaining an unequal gender order”. This implies that men as a group are capable of controlling the most crucial resources of power, which include physical power, positional power (authority and decision making), economic power (income and wealth) and symbolic power (power to define meanings in terms of imagery and discourse) (Bradley 2013). Historically, patriarchy has undergone a change from male domination in the household to the authority of the state in contemporary Western societies (Mann 1986 and Brotton 1989 cited in Ogle & Batton 2009), the state thus becoming “a kind of paternalistic quasi-husband with the woman trapped into dependence on its support” (Bradley 2013: 203).

On the other hand, Lerner (1986) highlighted paternalistic dominance wherein the relationship between a dominant to a subordinate group is mitigated by mutual obligations and reciprocal rights. However, the responsibilities and obligations in a patriarchal family are not equally distributed among those who are to be protected. The subordination of male children to their father is temporary as it lasts until they themselves become household heads, whereas the subordination of female children and wives is for their lifetime as today’s daughters are future wives who will be dominated/protected by another man. An unwritten contract for exchange is the basis of this paternal dominance: economic support and protection provided by the male for subordination in all matters including sexual services and unpaid domestic work done by the female. Despite this, the relationship continues even if the male partner defaults on his obligation (ibid.).

The relations of domination are “made, unmade, and remade in and by the interactions between persons” (Bourdieu 1977: 184). Bourdieu (2001: 23) argued that masculine domination is nothing but “a somatization of the social relations of domination”. It is one of the most intolerable conditions of existence, which dispenses itself with justification and is perceived as acceptable and even natural. Moreover, the way it is imposed and suffered is the prime example of paradoxical submission. Masculine

³⁹ As a system of social arrangements, patriarchy gives men privilege both structurally and ideologically to dominate women as a group (Hunnicut 2009: 557).

domination is exerted through symbolic violence, “a gentle violence, imperceptible and invisible even to its victims, exerted for the most part through the purely symbolic channel of communication and cognition (more precisely misrecognition), recognition, or even feeling” (Bourdieu 2001: 2). These systems of symbolism and meaning are imposed on different people “in such a way that they are experienced as legitimate” (Jenkins 1992: 104). This implies that masculine order is embodied (in the *habitus*⁴⁰) in the form of unconscious schemes of perceptions and appreciation. The thoughts and perceptions of the dominated are structured in accordance with the very structures of the relation of domination that is imposed on them; thus, their acts of *cognition* are, inevitably, acts of *recognition*, submission (Bourdieu 2001: 13). Bourdieu (1991: 51) further argued that symbolic violence “can only be exerted on a person predisposed to feel it, whereas others will ignore it”. Such individuals do not question their role in the production and reproduction of their domination⁴¹ (Bourdieu 1977; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). This internalisation masks the underlying power relations. For instance, male domination is considered as legitimate and the natural order of things wherein women are “consigned to inferior social positions” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 173). As discussed above, in a patriarchal system what is considered masculine is usually valued higher than what is feminine (Chesney- Lind 2006).

In daily life, the concept of “symbolic violence,” has been a subject of “misrecognition” (as the dominated groups consider it legitimate). Such misrecognition hides symbolic violence within dominant discourses and other forms of violence thus making it more powerful than physical violence (Bourdieu 1990). Misrecognition is “the process whereby power relations are perceived not for what they objectively are but in a form which renders them legitimate in the eyes of the beholder” (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977: xii). Basically, misrecognition occurs when an object is mistaken as something that it is not. It operates through a tacit acceptance

⁴⁰ Habitus is a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which “integrate past experiences, functions at every moment as matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions” (Bourdieu 1977: 82). This is discussed in Chapter Three.

⁴¹ Male domination may not be the result of direct coercion; it may result from the existence of power relations unquestioned by those who are dominated (Thapar-Björkert et al. 2016).

of practices which are neither challenged nor probed (Brandt 2012); for instance, the patriarchal practices of preference for sons, dowry, early marriage of girls and assigning reproductive roles to women, or the practices of *izzat*, honour and *purdah* in Muslim societies. The symbolic aspects of such social practice are the most essential part of the oppression of women (Krais 1993), leading to the misrecognition of the value of girls' education in patriarchal societies. Thus, the concept of symbolic violence explains how social hierarchies and inequalities are maintained less by physical force than by forms of symbolic domination (Thapar-Björkert et al. 2016).

Masculine domination operates not only through habitus but also through the symbolic order of gender (Bourdieu 2001). The symbolic order of gender operates through sexual division of labour (male/female dichotomy) and comes to life through habitus (Krais 1993; 2006), or in other words it is embodied in the individual's habitus. It implies that a gender-specific habitus internalises the division of labour between the genders (Krais 2006). In this sense, it requires a harmony between habitus (the subjective structures) and the objective relations, thus suggesting complicity on the part of the dominated⁴². Thus, the complicity between dominant and dominated can only be achieved when both agents have integrated the symbolic order in their habitus (ibid.).

Bourdieu (2001: 41) contended that symbolic violence cannot be exercised without the contribution of the dominated, that is "the relation of complicity that the victims of symbolic domination grant to the dominant". The argument that male domination exists and is sustained by the implicit or explicit cooperation of women themselves implies that "the dominants are themselves dominated by their dominance" (Krais 1993: 171). As Sen (1987) noted, "there is much evidence in history that acute inequalities often survive precisely by making allies out of the deprived. The underdog

⁴² A system of domination cannot work without the active agency of the dominated to support it (Einspahr 2010). Dinnerstein (1976 cited in Hunnicutt 2009) noted that women and men are both complicit in maintaining the systems of dominance by creating and sustaining power arrangements. Women, along with men, have always been agents and actors in history; they are not marginal but central to the making of society, the building of civilisation and providing links between generations (Lerner 1986). Women participate in maintaining the patriarchal dividend. For instance, women married to wealthy men live on the profits generated by other women's underpaid and unpaid labour (Connell 2002).

comes to accept the legitimacy of the unequal order and becomes an implicit accomplice". Sen (1987) termed such a relationship as cooperative conflict; those who are disadvantaged by it spend their lives in intimate personal relationships with those who are advantaged by it. Women are often disadvantaged due to their weak fall-back position⁴³ and lack of bargaining power. The situation often tends to be worse if no bargain is struck and women have to live without men (Agarwal 1994). Walby (1990) contended that sometimes, like men, women act out of their own rational self-interest. This implies that in a patriarchal system women are not always passive victims, as their own actions (agency) also matter. Through their domestic roles of wives and mothers, women stabilise and perpetuate patriarchy by taking care of men and children, reproducing new workers or working in the paid labour force on lower wages to stabilise the economy (Eisenstein 1979). Women also enjoy positions of domination through their age, race, class, marital status, education or by making allies of men. They exert different amounts of power depending on their social location, which determines their value (Hunnicut 2009). For instance, older women occupy positions of respect and status and create incentives to uphold patriarchal ideology, such as the South Asian power of mother-in-law over daughter-in-law (Kibria 1990; Therborn 2004). This makes the power relations more complex as the top-down conceptualisation of patriarchy obliterates the labyrinth of power dynamics (Therborn 2004). Patriarchal systems are, therefore, the terrains of power where both genders wield different types and amounts of power (Flax 1993). However, patriarchal beliefs and attitudes are more likely to be endorsed by men than by women because it benefits them to perpetuate their dominance (Crittendon and Wright 2012). The scale of the patriarchal dividend in contemporary gender relations makes patriarchy worth defending as men have an explicit interest in maintaining and *steering* the current gender order (Connell 2002: 144). The sexist stereotypes which we carry show impressive toughness and resilience (Connell 1987). Therefore, in modern society

⁴³A fall-back position is the outside option (also called threat points) which determines how well off a person would be if cooperation ceased, and the degree to which a member's claim is seen as socially and legally legitimate. Agarwal (1994; 1997) defined social legitimacy as that which is accepted and enforced as legitimate by the community of which the household is a part. The community is identified here by kinship, caste, religion, or location. Legal legitimacy is one that is established in law. However, they need not coincide.

gender differentiation continues to exist as a form of domination even in the social practices of advanced capitalist societies (Krais 1993).

Patriarchy has changed its form over the last two centuries (Walby 1990). In the 19th century it was private, while in the 20th century it became public. In private patriarchy, household production is the main site of women's oppression, where an individual patriarch expropriates women's labour; the exclusion of women was the main patriarchal strategy. On the other hand, public patriarchy exists in sites such as employment and the state, and women are exploited collectively through segregationist patriarchal strategies. Patriarchy retreated somewhat in the 20th century, women winning many legal rights; extended education and paid work enhanced their autonomy. However, this slight erosion of patriarchy does not necessarily entail its end (Therborn 2004). Wage differences, violence against women and the abuse of women's bodies (in media and beauty contests) reveal the pernicious ways in which patriarchy still operates (Woodward and Woodward 2009). Still, the glass ceiling hinders women's development in the labour market, and domestic unpaid labour and childcare falls on women's shoulders (Bradley 2013). Patriarchy is deeply entrenched in three strongholds: South Asia, its northern parts with Hindu and Muslim populations; West Asia/North Africa; and large areas of sub-Saharan Africa (Therborn 2004). Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia are among the least urbanised parts of the world, where patriarchy is maintained by rural-agrarian structures and processes including institutionalised disadvantage of daughters and a clear hierarchy of husband over wife. It remains a South Asian problem rather than being a Hindu or Muslim problem (Agarwal 1994; Jejeebhoy and Sathar 2001 cited in Therborn 2004).

The developments of feminist theory over recent decades (the discourses of black and third world feminists and the emergence of an intersectional perspective) cast serious doubt about the early and traditional concept of patriarchy. Although 21st century feminist authors have less frequently interrogated the concept of patriarchy as compared to its significance in the 1980s, it is still vital to the feminist critique of social relations. To understand the power dynamics, it is crucial that the concept of patriarchy be retained as a critical concept (Woodward and Woodward 2009). However, it is also naïve to assume patriarchy as the only form of oppression and

women as a unitary category. Patriarchy interacts and intersects with other structures of dominance (such as gender, race, class, ethnicity, culture) in complex ways (Bradley 2013). The concept of intersecting differences is discussed in the next section.

2.2.2. Intersecting differences

Intersectionality⁴⁴ (see Crenshaw 1989, 1991; Collins 1991) is a useful approach to understanding intersecting differences. This concept “emphasises that the different dimensions of social life cannot be separated out into discrete and pure strands” (Brah and Phoenix, 2004: 176), such as the experience of one’s gender; and gender domination cannot be separated from the experiences of one’s race, class or sexuality (Hunnicutt 2009; Einspahr 2010). This means that “gender is always raced, classed, sexualized, and nationalized just as race, class, nationality, and sexuality are always gendered” (Peterson and Runyan 2010: 24). The concept of intersectionality draws attention to the fact that people have multiple identities simultaneously (Valentine 2007 cited in McDowell 2008), for instance a black gay who is American and belongs to the working-class⁴⁵. Such *multiple positioning* and/or *multiple disadvantage* exposes each of us to a range of different sources of identification. Therefore, only looking at a single aspect of disadvantage may lead to distortions and may mask other forms of oppression (Bradley 2013: 199 and 207). In South Asia, societies are internally differentiated, with marked gender inequalities in educational access and outcomes. Examples are caste-based and indigenous group-based inequalities in primary education in Nepal, poverty, gender and culture-based inequalities in India,

⁴⁴ Kimberly Crenshaw (1989) was the first black feminist to coin the term ‘intersectionality’ to highlight the intersecting effects of race and gender on black women’s experiences of discrimination and racism in the USA. Later, another black US feminist theorist, Collins (1991), highlighted that the lives and experiences of women of colour were under-represented in dominant Western feminist theories about women’s subordination which were constructed on the experiences of largely white, Western, middle-class and/or working-class women.

⁴⁵ These “identity markers, however, are not just additive, merely descriptive, or politically or socially neutral. Some parts of our identities carry privilege and others do not” (Peterson and Runyan 2010: 24). For example, an individual who is exercising male privilege at home over women and children may be subject to racial discrimination in the larger demographic or experience classism if he is not a member of the managerial class (ibid.).

Bangladesh and Pakistan and geographical (poor and remote areas) and minority group-based educational inequalities in China.

Contemporary feminists (see Brah and Pheonix 2004; Phoenix and Pattynama 2006; Davis 2008; Ludwig 2006, Yuval Davis 2011; Anthias 2012) have employed intersectional analysis to avoid essentialism and universalism, which assume that all women or all men or all the individuals of the same race or class share the same experiences and interests. An intersectional analysis takes account of a multiplicity of social categories and relationships of inequality, such as gender, race, class, religion, migration and age (Crenshaw 1989; Hancock 2007; Davis 2008). Thus, it considers a never-ending list of individual identities and their intersection within social structures (Davis 2008). Ludwig (2006), however, warns that the list of categories of difference [or analysis] keep extending making it difficult to take into account all differences that are significant at a given moment. Therefore, one must be selective according to what is important in a given time and space.

The concept of intersecting differences also helps in exploring the complexities of power and inequality in a more nuanced way (Bradley 2013). For example, when male power intersects with class and racially founded power, it becomes advantageous for upper- and middle-class women. Such women are able to employ white working-class women as cleaners or maids (such as Filipino or Mexican women to help with housework and childcare); or employ men from lower classes in their businesses, or be the managers of men with high-level jobs. Thus, class power supports some groups of women (including those from minority and ethnic backgrounds) “to ‘buy themselves out’ of many of the problems of gender” (ibid: 208). However, they may still face domestic violence from their husbands or harassment in the streets or other gender discrimination (Bradley 2013). In the South Asian context, the interplay of preference for sons and male dominance (gender) with culture (social practices of early marriage and dowries) works to *others’* (women’s) disadvantage not only in the allocation of household resources but the accrual of human capital through education.

Besides the structural and intersectional approach to gender inequalities, the role of social institutions or gender regimes in maintaining gender inequalities, in the family,

state or the street, cannot be ignored (Connell 1987). The next section discusses the concept of gender regimes.

2.2.3. Gender Regimes

Gender regime is a concept formulated by Connell (1987). It refers to “the state of play in gender relations in a given institution” or “the structural inventory of a particular institution” (Connell 1987: 120 and 99). It is “a set of inter-related gendered social relations and gendered institutions that constitutes a system” (Walby 2009: 301). A gender regime signifies the same thing as patriarchy, although its capacity to better capture the varied nature of gender relations makes it more acceptable (Walby 1997). Moreover, the idea of gender regime appears more flexible, allowing for the co-existence of more than one regime at a time (Bradley 2013). For example, institutions such as school, family or community have their own gender regimes which exist side by side. In society, the gender regimes are constructed through a three-part structural model of gender relations (Connell 1987). These are:

- ***Sexual division of labour*** is the allocation of work to particular categories of people, for instance, the organisation of housework and childcare, division between unpaid and paid work, segregation of labour markets, discrimination in training and promotion, and unequal wages.
- ***Power*** is the manifestation of authority, control and coercion including interpersonal and institutional violence, sexual regulation and surveillance and domestic authority.
- ***Cathexis*** is the emotional dimension of all social relationships, whether hostile, affectionate or ambivalent. This relates to heterosexuality and homosexuality, desire, trust and distrust, jealousy and solidarity in marriage, emotional relationships in rearing children, etc. (Connell 1987).

In her later work, Connell (2002; 2009) presented four types of gender relation: power, production, emotional and symbolic, (which not only constantly intersect each other but also interweave with other social structures such as gender, ethnicity and disability.

a) Power relations can be direct, discursive and colonising (Connell 2009). The *direct* power relations include: male domination (patriarchy), rape, violence and abuse, media images of women as passive and trivial, the power of husbands over wives and fathers over daughters (male as the head of household), gender blind and/or gender-neutral policies and laws, institutionalised power relations in bureaucracies manifested through male bias in selection and promotion procedures and controlling the means of force through large bureaucracies like armies (ibid). The *discursive* form of power, (as popularised by Foucault 1977 cited in Connell 2009) casts doubt about the unified agency of power in society. According to Foucault (1977 cited in ibid.), power is dispersed widely and it operates discursively, intimately and diffusely, for instance, in the ways of talking and categorising people thus leaving an impact on people's bodies as a discipline shaping their identities (Connell 2002: 77). Examples are the discourse of fashion and beauty which positions women as consumers and subjects them to humiliation (like tests of acceptability by enforcing arbitrary rules) and unhappiness (girls' ill health due to dieting). *Colonisation*, the most "sweeping exercise of power" involves the creation of global empires, the invasion of indigenous lands by imperial powers (Connell 2009: 78); for example, the transformation of indigenous gender order, population displacement and seizing women's bodies.

b) Production relations imply that the sexual division of labour is not only produced but is also consumed and accumulated in a gendered way (Connell 2009). For instance, some work is common universally, as in computing, although software engineering is mainly done by men and data entry by women; while men predominate in mechanical trades and women arts-based and human services jobs. However, such division of labour is different in different cultures and at different points of history. For instance, agricultural work is different for men and women in different contexts (Connell 2002). In the economic sphere, the work is done in exchange of pay, labour is bought and sold; whereas in the home, work is done for love and mutual obligations (Connell 2009). Production relations are also seen in the gendered accumulation process through colonisation and housewifisation (Mies 1986 cited by Connell 2002). In the global economy, this accumulation process is carried out by large corporations and global markets through wage structures, benefit packages, etc., which tend to favour middle-class men (Connell 2009).

c) *Emotional relations* can be positive or negative, favourable or hostile towards the object; for instance, misogyny (prejudice against women) or homophobia (prejudice against homosexuals) (Connell 2009). These can be hostile and loving at the same time. The major arena for emotional attachment is sexuality which does not involve a simple biological reflex but culturally formed intimate relationships (Caplan 1987 cited by Connell 2009). In contemporary societies, households are often based on romantic love between partners, in contrast to those societies where kinship marriages are the norm. Another dimension of emotional relations is parenting. While caring for young children was traditionally the business of women, a new fatherhood pattern has emerged eroding the image of distant fathers. Emotional relations are also visible in the realm of work, for instance emotional labour, developing a relationship with the customer, such as in the case of airline cabin crew (see Hochschild 1983). Hostile emotional relations are evident in mass killings (gang attacks in public places) or killings by individuals in private (Connell 2009).

d) *Symbolic relations*: Connell (2009) argues that all societies are characterised by meanings, implying that all social practices (including gender) involve interpreting the world. Whenever speaking of a man or woman, one assumes understandings, implications and allusions which have accumulated through one's cultural history. Such meanings are greater than the biological categories of male and female. For example, if an American football team coach shouts at his losing team, "bunch of women", it does not mean that the male team members can perform reproductive tasks. Instead he is saying something meaningful and important in their context⁴⁶ (Connell 2009: 83). Connell also referred to the best-known model of the structure of symbolism in gender derived from Jacques Lacan's analysis of the phallus, a symbol which gave rise to the interpretation of language as phallogentric. This suggests a system in which authority and privileged subjectivity are always masculine. Other than language, symbolic relations operate in our dressing, make-up, gestures, film and

⁴⁶ Connell (2009: 83) argues that when we speak of a man or a woman, we refer to a "system of understanding, implications, overtones and allusions that have accumulated through our cultural history". Calling a losing American football team, a "bunch of women" may suggest that women cannot play football or if they play, they cannot win.

photography and in the built environment. Such symbolism involves rules for gender attribution which are normally taken for granted in everyday life.

Connell (2002) further contends that there are diverse facts about politics, violence, economics, culture, childhood, etc. which are connected and form a pattern. Such patterns are the gender arrangements or gender order of a society. When we talk of gender arrangements (that is the gender regime of an institution or the gender order of a society), we basically look at how people, groups or organisations are connected with each other or how they are divided. Thus, the relationship between gender regimes of institutions is also important in understanding the gender order (or the structural inventory) of an entire society. There are three types of relationship between gender regimes which may affect the gender relations within an institution: first, an *additive or complementary relationship*, where the gender relations in one institution function to support those of a neighbouring regime; second, a *conflictual relationship*, where gender relations in one institution contradict those in another.; and third, a *parallel relationship*, where the gender relations of two institutions could function in a parallel manner or in common (Connell 1987). Walby (2004) argues that Connell (2002) used the notion of gender regime to look at one institution at a time, reserving the concept of gender order as the sum of all gender regimes. This approach is taken up in Chapter Four in discussing the gender order and gendered regimes (institutions) in Pakistan which maintain gender inequalities.

Most research about the change in gender arrangements has focused on external pressures (such as urban life, technology, media, modernisation) impacting on the gender order of a society. However, gender relations also carry internal tendencies towards change (Connell 2002). In a patriarchal structure, women (the subordinated group) have a structural interest in changing and negotiating the gender order. However, to change an existing gender order is to claim that it is doing more harm than good. The first and foremost harm of gender inequality is the patriarchal dividend, a system in which women and girls are discredited and exploited. Although with the growth of gender equality, the patriarchal dividend (that is the benefit to men as a group) is reduced not only in terms of monetary benefits to women but also increased authority, respect and control over one's own life (ibid.: 142). However, such benefits

can only be achieved if the choices that people make are enhanced, and the freedoms they value most are provided. This takes us to the *capability approach* pioneered by the Indian economist Amartya Sen to evaluate and assess social arrangements and particularly standards of living, poverty, justice, quality of life or wellbeing (Comim 2001). Most importantly, it has been argued that the question of inequality can be best addressed through the idea of capabilities (Nussbaum 2000; Roche 2009). This approach is discussed in the next section.

2.3. The Capability Approach

The freedoms of individuals are the basic building blocks in Amartya Sen's (1999: 36) capability approach and "the primary end and principal means of development"⁴⁷. A person's capability is "the alternative combinations of functionings that are feasible for her to achieve", whereas functionings reflect, "the various things a person may value doing or being" (Sen 1999: 75). Capability, therefore, is a substantive freedom employed to achieve alternative functioning combinations⁴⁸. A valued functioning (that is doing and being), therefore, will be "to appear in public without shame" (Sen 1999: 73), such as being adequately nourished or being able to avoid preventable morbidity and premature mortality or being literate or numerate. Thus, capabilities are the options in achieving valuable functionings (Akkoyunlu-Wigley and Wigley 2008). Sen (1999: 18) emphasised the expansion of individuals' capabilities "to lead the lives they value- and have reason to value". The success of a society can be best evaluated by the substantive freedoms that its members enjoy⁴⁹ (Sen 1999: 36). In the capabilities approach, the units of evaluation are not just opulence, utilities, primary goods or rights, but doings and beings that are the functionings (Comim 2001; Roche 2009). This refers to a wide range of information, especially about how people actually live

⁴⁷ Development is "a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy" (Sen 1999: 36).

⁴⁸ The functionings that could be included in the list of important achievements and the corresponding capabilities is a debatable issue (Sen 1999).

⁴⁹ These include elementary capabilities such as being literate and numerate, and being able to avoid starvation, undernourishment, morbidity and premature mortality (Sen 1999: 36).

(what they do and are) and their freedom (what they are able to do and be) (Gasper 2007). By focusing on the capabilities of a person, this approach rejects evaluative approaches which focus on the aggregate benefits of an initiative (Unterhalter 2003). It also rejects a culture-based acceptance of women's entitlements since such an acceptance is internalised and reproduced. This approach, therefore, draws attention to both economic and non-economic inputs which determine functioning and capability (Rai 2002).

There are two elements of freedom: constitutive and instrumental. The *constitutive* element of freedom implies the intrinsic importance of freedom as an *end* of development. A person's freedom to live one's life in the way one would like has intrinsic value; hence, it is constitutive of a person's being. This suggests that not only achieved functionings are valuable but also the capability of an individual to choose and discriminate among possible livings. The *instrumental* element implies freedom as a *means* to development and has much more potential than the constitutive aspect⁵⁰ (Sen 1999). It connotes the ways in which different kinds of rights, opportunities and entitlements contribute to expand human freedom in general and development in particular. Thus, the effectiveness of freedom lies in its inter-relation with other kinds of freedom, which means that freedom of one type may help in advancing freedom of other types (ibid.). For instance, social opportunities (the arrangement that society makes for education, healthcare, etc., which influence the individual's substantive freedom to live better) not only guide the conduct of private lives but are also essential for effective participation in economic and political activities. The creation of social opportunities in terms of reinforcing female education has a direct bearing on development outcomes such as fertility behaviours. Thus, the instrumental role of education emphasises social arrangements in poor economies "without having to wait for getting rich first" (Sen 1999: 39 and 49).

In the capability approach, people's wellbeing depends upon their freedoms (capabilities that are available to them) and their agency (ability and choice to make

⁵⁰ Sen emphasised five main instrumental freedoms: political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security. These not only enhance the capabilities of people but also supplement and reinforce each other.

use of available capabilities). Both are crucial to living the lives that people have reason to value (i.e. their achieved functionings) (Loots and Walker 2015); however, the agency of an individual is vital in understanding capability. Defining an agent in a grander sense, as “someone who acts and brings about change, and whose achievements can be judged in terms of her own values and objectives”, Sen (1999: 19) emphasised the “agency aspect” of an individual not only as a member of the public but also as a participant in economic, social and political actions. Thus, freedom means not only evaluating the success or failure of a society; rather it becomes the “principal determinant of individual initiative and social effectiveness” (ibid.: 18). The greater the freedom, the greater is the ability of people to help themselves and to influence the world. This means that individuals are not mere receptacles for resource-inputs (the passive recipients of development programmes); instead, as agents, persons have their own goals and make their own choices, shaping their destinies when given opportunities. This indicates that capability cannot be possessed in the sense of freedom if one lacks capability in the sense of agency, the capacity and skills to think and act (Gasper 2007).

The capability approach distinguishes between means, functionings and capabilities. Means are instrumental to achieve other ends and consist of resources or endowments which may be individual resources (such as income, education and health) and collective resources (such as public infrastructure, healthcare and the education system). These resources are used by people to achieve functionings (intrinsically valuable ends). Although this scheme appears static, the processes behind the attainment of people’s sets of resources, endowments, achieved functionings and capabilities are dynamic. Individual, social and environmental factors affect the conversion of the resources into functionings and capabilities (Roche 2009).

Nussbaum (2000) framed a universalist version of central human functions⁵¹ by listing three types of capability: basic, internal and combined. Basic capabilities are inherent in individuals and are required for the development of advanced capabilities. Internal capabilities refer to the states of a person him/herself and are the sufficient conditions

⁵¹ See Appendix 2 for a list of capabilities suggested by Nussbaum (1999). She does not prioritise capabilities but opines that all are equally important.

for the exercise of certain other functions. For example, a woman who has not undergone genital mutilation presumably has the internal capability for sexual pleasure. Combined capabilities are the internal capabilities combined with suitable external conditions for the exercise of a function. For example, a woman who has not suffered genital mutilation but who was widowed as a child and is forbidden to remarry still has the internal capability, but the combined capability for sexual expression is denied to her (Nussbaum 1999). Nussbaum (2000) argues that a threshold level for each capability (beneath which truly human functioning is not available to citizens) is more important than the principle of full capability equality.

Nussbaum (2000) also analysed women's quality of life in developing countries; she argued that women enjoy far fewer opportunities to live freely as compared to men, and experience unequal human capabilities; in other words, women suffer from acute capability failure or capability deprivation such as poverty and illiteracy (Sen 1999; Drèze and Sen 1989 cited in Rai 2002). The idea of human dignity⁵² (the core of democratic thought) is often violated on the basis of sex as many women find unequal treatment in education, healthcare, employment, bodily safety, integrity and political voice (Nussbaum 1999). The principle of each person's capability rests on a principle of each person as an end and not treating any person as a mere tool of the ends of others. Being universal in nature, Nussbaum's (1999) list of capabilities (see Appendix 2) is important for all citizens of all nations, although it is particularly relevant for women's lives in developing countries where they are not treated as an end in themselves but are often treated as the supporters of others' ends. In the capability approach, women's education is seen not as an end but a means to enjoy substantive freedom in society and to discuss what is valued by women⁵³ (Subrahmanian 2007: 31). In particular, gender inequality in education implies promoting individual agency

⁵² Human dignity in the sense of equal worth and respect for rich and poor, rural and urban, male and female. This is connected with the idea of freedom and opportunity to promote the ability of people to shape their lives according to their own view of what is more important for them, rather than being "passively pushed around by the world".

⁵³ The central question in the capability approach is not just how satisfied a woman is with what she does but what are her opportunities and liberties; it is not just about resources but about how the available resources work to enable women to function. For instance, in the case of nourishment, it is the nutritional level of an individual that matters and not just the supply of food or the utility of eating (Nussbaum 1999).

by providing opportunities for empowerment. It also entails challenging gender identities (which are socially produced for men and women) to influence social structures (Unterhalter 2007). The freedom to be educated and have access to knowledge not only stimulates critical thinking, reasoning and reflection but also empowers women. The capabilities approach could prove an important instrument in promoting female education as a capability for life beyond educational institutions (Loots and Walker 2015).

Furthermore, this approach acknowledges a fundamental right to education for each and every individual, at least basic education or cognitive functionings (like reading, writing and/or practical reasoning, which are essential to achieve other functionings) without which one may lack the preconditions necessary for doing things and realizing that they have value (Akkoyunlu-Wigley and Wigley 2008). Individuals who do not complete a basic education are not only deprived of a decent income, but are deficient in capabilities (cognitive functionings). For instance, illiterate women are less able to escape a dominating relationship in the household, protect their legal rights, use health services or participate in public deliberations. Education, therefore, is significant in achieving other important functionings and enabling the capabilities to function in various other ways; for example, female educational attainment is linked with reduced infant and maternal mortality rates (*ibid.*). From this perspective, gender inequality in education is not simply lack of access but is the deprivation of capabilities in terms of limiting the agency of female students and denying them recognition and respect (Molla and Gale 2015). The distributive principle requires that priority must be given to provide all children with at least an adequate level of educational achievement. What that threshold level should be, or the length and quality of education, is a matter of controversy. However, Akkoyunlu-Wigley and Wigley (2008) suggest that the completion of a good secondary education is essential to achieve the basic cognitive functionings.

The capability approach has been criticised mainly on three grounds. First, it is not a fully fleshed out theory but only a general framework of thought, a normative tool. Second, Sen has not provided a well-defined list of capabilities i.e. which capabilities are relevant if gender inequality is to be assessed. Third is the operationalization or

practical implications of the capability approach (Sugden 1993; Comim 2001; Alkire 2002; Robeyns 2002; Clark 2006; Gasper 2007). In addition, Dean (2009) argues that despite being an attractive and liberal-individualist concept, the capability approach obscures three realities or structural mechanisms. These include the constitutive nature of human interdependency, the problematic nature of the public realm and the exploitative nature of capitalism. However, Robeyns (2002) does argue that the capability approach has the potential to discuss feminist questions. As the women's movement had addressed issues that are not reducible to financial welfare, for instance, women's right to vote, reproductive rights, domestic violence, education and political power), therefore, "the capability approach can be used to study one core feminist issue, i.e. gender inequality" (ibid.: 2). Furthermore, Sen (1985; 1998) himself carried out empirical work from a capability perspective on issues concerned with sex bias, mortality and Indian development (Comim 2001) whereas, others applied the concept of capabilities particularly in education (see Unterhalter 2003; Akkoyunlu-Wigley and Wigley 2008; Walker 2012; Tao 2013).

2.4. Conclusion

This chapter discussed the key notions of sex and gender which form the basis of gender discrimination and shape the lives of half of the world's population, women. Gender is not biologically predetermined nor it is fixed forever; it is socially constructed through different practices and is vital in revealing how women's subordination and gender inequalities are also socially constructed and how it can be changed or ended (UNESCO 2005b). This chapter also discussed patriarchy as the structural cause of gender inequality and male domination as the background condition to perpetuate women's subordination. The inevitability of patriarchy was recognised in its changing forms over the last two centuries and its prevalence in the modern world. However, its universalistic nature led to explore intersectionality as an approach to analyse multiple and intersecting sources of oppression and subordination. As compared to patriarchy, the concept of gender regime appeared to be more flexible to avoid essentialism or the reduction of gender to a single base (Walby 2011). The concept of gender regimes allows investigating the role of different institutions in maintaining gender inequalities such as family, state and market. This will be taken

Chapter 2: Theorising Gender Inequality

up in Chapter Four. Lastly, this chapter presented the capability approach as a distinctive approach to analyse the wellbeing and quality of women's lives. This approach emphasises the importance of education as a basic capability in imparting cognitive skills, enhancing women's empowerment and their agency to bring a change in their lives as well as in society.

The next chapter reviews gender issues in education and presents the rights framework and selected concepts of Pierre Bourdieu to explore gender inequalities in education, focusing on developing countries.

Chapter 3: Understanding Gendered Inequalities in Education

This chapter attempts to understand the nature of gender inequalities in education. Section One briefly discusses gender issues in education in the West to show how gender practices, social divisions and curriculum development continue to highlight gender concerns in the field of education. Section Two gives a description of global neoliberal trend in education. Section Three describes a rights-based approach to education to highlight household and institutional-level factors that affect female education in developing contexts. Section Four draws on aspects of Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital and field to explore how social and material contexts generate different forms of social reproduction and inequalities in developing countries. Section Five concludes the chapter.

3.1. Gender and Education in the West

Feminists in the West have highlighted gender discrimination in schools, including classroom practices, the hidden curriculum, gendered values of teachers and feminist pedagogy (Wrigley 1992). However, the terrain of gender issues in education in the West has much changed in recent decades (Buchmann et al. 2008; Byrom and Lightfoot 2013). Two dominant themes emerged in the last two decades: the boys' education movement, and the interest in gender, identity and subjectivity (Dillabough et al. 2010). The focus on boys' education and interest in masculinities reduced the emphasis on girls' education and its legitimacy in many countries of the global North and South (Jha and Kelleher 2006; Skelton et al. 2006). The discourse of girls' success in education caused a moral panic about girls outperforming boys from high school to university entrance tests⁵⁴. The *boys as the new disadvantaged* discourse resonated the

⁵⁴ This trend has been noticed since 1990s. As in Australia, Canada, UK, New Zealand and Japan, the boy crisis was also noted in the US where girls outperformed boys in standardised test scores, secondary school graduation and college entrance tests (Mead 2006 cited by Au 2009). Boys' underachievement has also been a high-profile education issue in the Caribbean leading international organisations and

claims that feminism has come to a dead end and gender equality has been achieved (Aikman and Unterhalter 2005; Batinder 2006). Feminists have criticised this discourse⁵⁵ for not doing “justice to the array of complex negotiations in which girls engage around their academic identities” (Pomerantz and Raby 2011). From a post-feminist perspective⁵⁶, girls have freedom and personal choice; but from a feminist perspective, they are still facing gender inequalities. Their academic success may be a ladder to their economic and social freedom but it seems to come at a price⁵⁷. The rhetoric of unlimited opportunities and empowerment is contradicted by girls’ susceptibility and experience of sexism in and out of school and a belief about their performing better than boys (ibid.). Reay (2001) also challenged the assumption that girls are doing better than boys. She argued that girls might be doing well in the examinations but their learning in classrooms is much broader than the curriculum as it includes aspects which are not favourable for gender equity. Thus, the new orthodoxy of super girls does not tell the whole story about gender relations in the classroom. It failed to capture the relational phenomenon of masculinity and femininity and the consequences which this explosive concern for masculinities may entail for girls.

Apart from the above, race/ethnicity and class-based educational inequalities also exist in the West. A reliance on high-stakes standardised testing systems in secondary

national education ministries to address it; for instance, the Commonwealth Secretariat’s longitudinal study initiated in 2011 to identify factors for boys’ underachievement in the Caribbean, controversial strategies for boys like single-sex schooling and securing places for boys in the most favoured selective schools (Cobbett & Younger 2012).

⁵⁵ That is the victory of feminism (the post-feminist construction of academically successful girls, can-do girls, alpha girls, smart, amazing, perfect and super girls) and the crisis of masculinity (boys’ underachievement) (Pomerantz & Raby 2011).

⁵⁶ Post-feminism is characterised by neo-liberal individualisation and personal choice. It is the idea that women and girls do not need feminist politics, feminism is a spent force and the gendered oppressions are irrelevant, as equality has been achieved. It further postulates that power, unlimited choices and success are available to all girls and structural inequalities are personal problems; girls are in a world that is uncomplicated by gender inequalities, particularly fear of sexism in schools, so they do not need feminism. If a girl fails, it is her fault, not the system’s (Pomerantz & Raby 2011).

⁵⁷ For example, American Pulitzer prize-winning novelist Carol Shields (1935-2003), was a college graduate and a trained teacher but her expectations as a young woman were: “a baby, a TV, a fridge-freezer and a car” (*The Guardian*, 23 May 1998 cited by Martin 2006: 27).

schools in the USA disillusioned the myth of meritocracy⁵⁸. For instance, white students outscored the African American and Latino/Latina students in 8th grade reading scores in the National Assessment of Educational Progress 2005 (Au 2009). An increase in the dropout rate in 18 American states was noted when high schools convened their exit exams. Not only the African American and Latino/Latina students but those from low-income families also dropped out. This shows the disproportionate impact of the high stakes testing system on the dropout of low-income students and students of colour (Buchmann et al. 2008; Au 2009).

In the UK, there has been much research and concern about white working-class children's underachievement and educational outcomes (Perry and Francis 2010). Although white working-class boys are the lowest achieving group in GCSEs, white working-class girls are still the lowest-achieving group of girls; this gap is slightly greater for girls than it is for boys (The Commons Education Committee Report 2014). A similar trend of underachievement in the age groups of 7, 11, 14 and 16 was noted in the UK in respect of some minority ethnic groups (Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Caribbean and African) as compared to the white students; whereas the Indian, Chinese and Irish students consistently scored high (Walters 2012; Strand 2011, 2012). Moreover, both the white and black Caribbean boys and girls from the working class were the lowest performing groups at the age of 16 in the GCSE (Shepherd 2010).

The under-representation of women in STEM⁵⁹ reveals an increased gender segregation in school subjects, where boys gravitate towards maths and science and girls towards arts and languages (Wrigley 1992; Au 2009; Fleisch et al. 2012). Despite the importance of science and technology in today's world, women make up only 24% of the science and technology workforce in the US, 25% in the UK and 23% in Europe. Although in some areas of science such as biology, women excel, but they achieve

⁵⁸ The idea that the US is a meritocracy, a land where success is the result of hard work and individual merit (Lemann 1999 and Sacks 1999 cited by Au 2009).

⁵⁹ STEM stands for science, technology, engineering and mathematics

fewer higher degrees in mathematics and engineering (Haworth et al. 2010)⁶⁰. The under-representation of women in scientific careers is often attributed to sex differences in cognitive abilities⁶¹ but this argument has been countered. Particularly in mathematics, teachers' attitudes, behaviour and teaching methods play an important role in creating anxiety among girls⁶² (William 1988; Furner and Gonzalez-DeHass 2011 cited by Nuñez-Peña et al. 2013). Over three-quarters of women working in the STEM field reported that they were never encouraged, and 40% said they were actively discouraged from pursuing their careers (Fleisch et al. 2012). In addition to these gender issues in education in the West, the global neoliberal trend in education is briefly discussed next.

⁶⁰ While invigilating the undergraduate exams in the Faculty of Science and Engineering of Manchester Metropolitan University for the years 2013 and 2014, I also noted a smaller number of female undergraduates in STEM examinations.

⁶¹ Howarth et al. (2010) investigated whether the under-representation of women in scientific careers is preceded by differences in science performance in school-age children; and whether the sex differences in science performance while at school emerge during the transition from middle childhood to early adolescence. They found no evidence for either of these propositions. Instead they noted the importance of other differences like motivation and interest in science, as the girls in their research were performing as well as boys even at a time when adolescents were making important career decisions.

⁶² Teachers are considered responsible for spreading stereotypes in classrooms about the maths ability of students which is considered inborn (Tobias 1993 cited by Núñez-Peña et al. 2013). Instead of paying heed to the performance of students, teachers' focus remains the mastery in the subject. Such practices carry dire consequences for girls' achievement in mathematics by influencing their own beliefs about their abilities (Beilock, Gunderson, Ramirez, and Levine 2010 cited by Núñez-Peña et al. 2013). The persistence of stereotypes reflects cultural beliefs that consider this discrimination as natural. Women internalise such ideas that men and women are different in their abilities, which inhibits their performance in subjects like mathematics and dampens their sense of self-worth and competency (Riegler-Crumb & Humphries 2012).

3.2. Global Neoliberal trend in Education

Neoliberalism⁶³ has targeted education because of its global market size⁶⁴ (Ross and Gibson 2006). Over the last two decades, neoliberal policies have considerably transformed education systems around the globe with public schools being replaced with private, for-profit, competitive, market-based schools that increase inequality and undermine democracy (Hursh 2006). For instance, during 2000-2002 in British Columbia, Canada, the neoliberal education policies resulted in closing of 92 schools in the province, reducing real per student education funding, displacing more than 14,000 students, cutting 2,881 teaching positions and reducing the number of school librarians from 939 to 706 (Ross and Gibson 2006). In the United States, state and federal governments require that students and schools be evaluated through statewide-standardized exams. In some states, students must pass the exams in order to be promoted from one grade to another. Under the federal No Child Left behind Act (NCLBA)⁶⁵, schools failing to make adequate progress must fund tutoring for their students, often through private for-profit organizations. The failing schools administered by or turned over as a charter school to a private corporation. One of the policies particularly supported by Bush administration was the privatization of

⁶³ Neoliberalism is the prevailing political economic paradigm which refers to the policies and processes “whereby a relative handful of private interests are permitted to control as much as possible of social life in order to maximize their personal profit” (McChesney 1998: cited in Ross and Gibson 2006). The main tenets of neoliberalism are: free market, private enterprise, consumer choice, cutting public expenditure of social services such as education, deregulation and privatization (Martinez and Garcia 2000 cited in Ross and Gibson 2006). In the United States, president Ronald Reagan and in the UK, prime minister Margaret Thatcher launched neoliberal policies in 1980s. The international financial donors such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) give conditional loans to developing countries (to follow their neoliberal agenda) in order to improve their financial crises (Yusa 2012).

⁶⁴ According to an estimate, the global education spending is more than \$1 trillion which includes costs of more than 50 million teachers, 1 billion students, and hundreds of thousands of educational establishments across the globe (Kuehn 1999 cited in Ross and Gibson 2006).

⁶⁵ The NCLBA of the US Congress in 2001 is one of the most important achievements of neoliberalism. It required the federal government to enact legislation that erased the tradition of local control of schools and making them standardized in the name of accountability. Under NCLBA, “schools are required to publish disaggregated data on students’ test scores and use specific scientific curricula to make improvements on students’ achievement. Teachers continue receiving permanent training on how to teach to the test and they are penalized if their students’ test scores are not raised” (Baltodano 2012: 495).

education through voucher programmes⁶⁶ (Hursh 2007). In England, schools are competing with one another for students, test scores, and funding. The harmful effect of such competition on the culture of the school, including teacher professionalism and student success has been noted (see Hursh 2006). Hursh (2006) argues that in England and the US, the neoliberal reforms did not improve education for all; rather, the gap between schools has widened as the comprehensive schools in both countries have created a hierarchy of schools. Moreover, the requirement of raising test scores has given teachers less flexibility in creating curriculum that responds to the need of the students in their class.

Many developing countries (such as Chile, Mexico, India, Pakistan, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Peru) have also implemented neoliberal policies in their education sector, mainly under the pressure of the lending agencies such as the World Bank. In 1980s, under the military regime of Pinochet in Chile, the neoliberal reforms were initiated in higher education to improve its efficiency and effectiveness (Yusa 2012). The abolition of free higher education and opening the market for the private sector to manage the education sector increased the number of universities from 8 to 21 during 17 years of Pinochet's reign. However, this resulted in benefitting students from a middle class and higher income level and public universities losing their autonomy (ibid.). In Chile, the privatization of schools remained a hot topic; the issue of whether it has improved the quality it promised, remains inconclusive and highly contested (Rizvi 2016). In 1990s, in Pakistan, the policies of liberalization deregulation and economization of education facilitated the way to treat education as business. The mushrooming of low cost private schools in Pakistan due to such policies has been noted (Andreas 2012). Much of these schools are self-owned and 'for profit' organizations. Since the dynamics of these schools vary regionally, their mushrooming created spatial disparities. The rural areas of Sindh and Baluchistan province barely witnessed this increase as compared to the Punjab province and the urban areas (ibid.). Under the current education sector reforms in Punjab, the Punjab Education Foundation through public-private partnership is implementing a voucher scheme with

⁶⁶ For instance, in Florida, schools with high test scores (mostly White middle-to upper class students) receive a financial reward whereas those schools which have low test scores lose funding and their students are given vouchers to help pay private school tuition (Hursh 2008).

multiple educational providers. Children belonging to disadvantaged backgrounds, particularly in urban slums, are provided with the vouchers by the Foundation to enrol in primary to secondary levels of education in low cost private schools (PEF 2017). Ansari (2012) has argued that the voucher scheme is associated with greater choice for families and has increased equity by providing lower income families with access to private schools as well as improved academic outcomes particularly for girls. However, due to the lack of regulations on participating schools, students may not experience a common educational experience.

The next section presents a rights-based approach to education including a *Rights Framework* to highlight the household and institutional-level factors which affect girls' education in developing countries.

3.3. A Rights-based Approach to Education

An overarching framework to promote gender equality in education is the *rights discourse* which has been validated by international dialogue and cooperation in preceding decades (Wilson 2004; Robeyns 2006; Subrahmanian 2007). All international treaties, declarations and conferences⁶⁷ see education as vital for women to fulfil their potential and to gain access to wider social, political and economic opportunities (Subrahmanian 2007). Those states committed to international treaties have clear obligations to realise the right to education and gender equality in and through education (Wilson 2004). The rights-based approach suggests that education is not simply a “good thing” to be pursued only if funds are available; rather it implies that as a right of every child it is the obligation of governments to mobilise resources required for quality education (Robeyns 2006: 75). The *Rights Framework* includes not only *rights to education*, but also *rights within education* and *rights through education* (Wilson 2004). This typology of educational rights is useful to capture the

⁶⁷ International treaties such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR 1948), UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960), Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC 1989), International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW 1979) and international conferences like the Conference on Human Rights in Vienna (1993), on Population and Development in Cairo (1994), on Women in Beijing (1995), on Social Development in Copenhagen (1995), etc. (Subrahmanian 2007)

interlocking dimension of gender inequalities in terms of their impact on female education. It takes into account not only the schooling but also non-schooling factors that generate educational disparities (Subramanian 2007). Table 3.1 shows this typology.

Table 3.1: Typology of Educational Rights

Rights to education	Rights within education	Rights through education
Demand and supply factors shaping girls' right to go to school	Supply factors that enable schools to respond to the diverse needs and interests of female and male learners, within a wider understanding of gender inequalities in society	The extent to which education equips young women and men to enjoy equal opportunities leading to equal outcomes beyond education

(Source: Subrahmanian 2007: 30)

This table shows that girls' rights to education are influenced not only by their families' demand for their schooling but also by the institutional provision of educational facilities⁶⁸. Rights within education are more related to the latter in terms of responding to the diverse needs of beneficiaries and refer to the educational environments and processes. Lastly, rights through education explain outcomes beyond education in terms of meaningful education outcomes (Subrahmanian 2007). The operation of these educational rights is circular, indivisible and interlinked. These rights are translated into a substantive programme of action to promote not only gender parity but also gender equality (ibid.). Although achieving gender parity is important in education, it is only the first step towards gender equality in and through education. Merely addressing the right to education, without addressing the rights in and through education may imply compelling attendance that may be of limited use and relevance to increasing gender equality (Wilson 2004).

⁶⁸ In this study, the term demand and supply (related to the field of economics) is not used; instead access and participation is preferred.

Developing countries present a different picture from the West, particularly sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia where a majority of girls are still facing gender discrimination in access to basic education (see Chapter One). The precise causes and consequences of gender inequality in education vary from country to country, but there is a common set of constraints that need to be tackled (GCE 2005). The contemporary challenges which affect girls' education in developing countries are bounded within the Rights Framework as shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Girls' Educational Rights in Developing Contexts

Rights to education (Access and participation)	Rights within education (Educational environment and processes)	Rights through education (Meaningful outcomes)
Cost Geographic location Distance to school Disability Socio-cultural norms/practices Parental/community support Conflict/disaster	Quality and availability of schools Role of teachers Transition Parental involvement Curriculum	Capabilities development Development outcomes

(Adapted from Subrahmanian 2007: 30)

The above table shows that rights to education implies access and participation, determined by the cost of schooling (linked to a family's socio-economic status such as parental occupation, income and education), geographical location, disability of school-aged children and distance to schools. Certain socio-cultural norms and practices (such as son-preference, value of girls' education, dowries and early marriages, harassment issues), parental and community support and conflicts/disasters in a country also affect girls' access to school. Rights within education refers to the educational environment and processes determined by the quality of schools (infrastructure like appropriate buildings, boundary wall, drinking water, separate toilets, availability of female teachers), transition from primary to secondary level of education (no dropout), parental involvement in girls' education and the relevance of

the curriculum to the labour market. Rights through education suggests meaningful educational outcomes in terms of the development of capabilities. These include women's fall-back position, bargaining power, empowerment and agency and the inter-generational benefits of female education. These are further discussed below in the context of developing countries.

3.3.1. Rights to Education

The foremost issue that comes as a right to education is *access* to an educational institution. Equality of access can naively suggest provision, without considering the contextual factors which inhibit some pupils from actually making use of the opportunities or resources (Claire 2004). Access is not mere registration but includes ability to attend school without disruption; progression through grades according to age; meaningful learning; transition to higher levels; and equitable opportunities for poor children, particularly girls (Subrahmanian 2006; Lewin 2007; Cameron 2011). In reality, access to education is unevenly distributed and is influenced by various intersecting differences such as poverty, gender, culture and location. Next is the discussion of factors that influence girls' rights to education

Cost of schooling: The direct and indirect cost of schooling is the main factor hindering access to school⁶⁹ (GCE 2005). There is a strong relationship between household income and access as income strongly influences the decisions about children's enrolment, retention and progression in school. While this effect has generally decreased at primary level in many countries, it has differential effects on the poor at higher educational levels (Lewin 2007). For the majority of the world's poor, affordability is a major issue even when schools are available. Poor households, through an implicit cost-benefit analysis, decide about school participation for their children. The majority of parents recognise the value given to education and wish to send their children to school, but for most it is not more important than food (Cameron 2011). For instance, in Bangladesh, where the earnings of children represent one-third

⁶⁹ The direct and indirect costs include not only tuition and exam fees but also money spent on books, stationery, uniforms, informal gifts to teachers, and travel (GCE 2005).

of the total income of poor households, the bulk is spent on food, leaving a negligible amount for education and health (Baker 2007 cited by Cameron 2011). The intersection of gender and poverty exacerbates exclusion of girls (UNESCO 2015a). Poverty interferes with girls' education, often pushing them into work, and it remains a key impediment to achieving gender parity in primary and secondary education (UNDP 2010). Around the world, about 100 million girls are involved in child labour (ILO 2009 cited by UNDP 2010). Girls in economically marginal situations face difficulties in access and completion and drop out when educational costs become unaffordable for their families. For instance, Omwani (2011) showed that girls belonging to economically marginalised backgrounds in Kenya lose their access to formal education due to the cost burden⁷⁰. In Rwanda, financial dependence works as a bribe for girls as "sugar daddies" sexually exploit them. They may threaten them to remain silent (after rape) in return for their school fees⁷¹ (Gerver 2013).

The opportunity cost⁷² may be different for boys and girls, higher for girls (GCE 2005). Parental preferences in choosing between children's work and their schooling are highly dependent on economic factors which are visible in short-term trade-offs. For instance, the opportunity cost of staying in school may be high when delaying marriage beyond 15 or 16 years of age might have negative consequences for the daughter as well as the parents' social status, and when the investment in boys' schooling yields greater future returns to parents (Khan 2012). Therefore, parents have strong preferences for educating boys and girls drop out from schools for reasons important to their families. Schooling is considered a superfluous activity when families rely extensively on child labour to perform daily household chores,

⁷⁰ In Kenya, over 40% of the overall population and 50% of the rural population is living below the poverty line (Omwani 2011).

⁷¹ Rape and sexual abuse in the form of transactional sex is prevalent in Rwanda where girls face difficulties in access to secondary education. This transaction of school fees in return of silence remains implicit in forgiving the perpetrator at the expense of police indulgence. This scenario specifies girls' vulnerability to sexual abuse due to their inability to pay school fees. Due to economic constraints they accept money, clothes or other gifts to subsidise their education. Transactional sex is very common and is even encouraged by parents who cannot afford the education of their daughters. This problem is much pronounced in boarding schools where supervision is not adequate (Gerver 2013).

⁷² "Opportunity cost refers to labour time lost to the parent when the child goes to school" (GCE 2005: 39).

particularly by girls, or subsistence chores by boys in the family business or labour market. According to a time-use survey conducted by the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies, females above 10 years of age tend to reduce their study time due to the need to perform domestic labour (ILO 2009 cited by UNDP 2010). This confirms the regular and high demand for girls' domestic labour while schooling suffers (Khan 2012). Moreover, the inconvenience and disruption caused by children's schooling to the immediate consumption needs of a family outweigh investment in education. In rural India, girls along with their mothers perform extremely labour-intensive domestic tasks, for instance, food gathering/preparation, fetching water and fuel, caring for siblings, old/sick family members, washing dishes and clothes⁷³ (GCE 2005). An additional threat to girls' schooling comes from wealthy households which demand more labour from poor households. If an urban middle-class woman enters the labour market, poor rural women and girls are usually called in to fill the need for domestic help. This in turn raises the opportunity cost of schooling for girls (Jayaweera 1997).

Poverty also intersects with socio-cultural norms and patriarchal attitudes (including son preference, dowry and early marriage). It affects the decisive actions aimed at improving the lot of women and leads to their further marginalisation by limiting educational opportunities. These aspects are discussed below.

Son preference: Purewal (2010: ix) argues that son preference is the “foundational ideology of social relations and social reproduction”. This ideology should be seen not only within the limited debate about “women or the menace of foeticide fatigue” particularly in South Asia but also within a “multitude of social processes and institutions that surround the desire for sons” (ibid.). The practice of preferring sons over daughters leads parents to exercise their discretionary power over whether to send their daughters to school (Qureshi 2004). In developing countries, where there is strong son preference, the gender of a child is strongly relevant to schooling. If education is simply taken as an investment good, this investment depends upon both

⁷³ Such tasks do not involve any mechanical or technical help as in the developed countries or in the urban areas of South Asian nations (Jayaweera 1997).

the costs and returns. Assuming the rate of private returns, boys' education is valued more by parents and there is more schooling for boys than for girls (Filmer 2005). The returns on investment in education may also differ in terms of the ways in which schooling is converted into human capital and then human capital into earnings (ibid.). The economic and social rationale for investing in the education of sons rather than daughters remains powerful (GCE 2005).

Value of educating girls: Education is not seen as relevant to the future roles of daughters as wives and mothers. Young girls collect water, fuel, fodder and assist in domestic and economic activities (Jayaweera 1997). To invest in a daughter's education is, therefore, considered a waste of resources (Raynor 2005; Myers and Harvey 2011) as shown in an old Bengali saying, "caring for a daughter is like watering a neighbour's tree" (Raynor 2005) and a Chinese proverb, "raising a daughter is ploughing someone else's field" (Jayachandran 2014). In Mali, parents commonly regard girls' education as a lost investment, because it is the future husband's family who reap the returns (GCE 2005). Conservative upper-class families may foster fears that education will alienate the girls from traditional roles (Jayaweera 1997). Girls' schooling implies leaving the protection of home, being influenced by modern thoughts and becoming rebellious against social norms. An educated daughter is also considered a liability requiring an educated husband and more dowry. In some cases, in-laws prefer uneducated girls (Raza & Murad 2010).

The rationale for sending girls to school is considerably undermined where education does not, or is not seen to, enhance opportunities for girls (Wilson 2004). In most countries, men continue to dominate both public and private sectors. Consequently, the prospects of a young woman from a poor rural background obtaining a good job remain extremely bleak. Differential valuations exclude girls not only from education but also prevent them from exercising their full rights in the wider economy (Subrahmanian 2005). The value attributed to girls' education is equally discernible in schools and impacts on the standard of education they receive. They might receive less attention from teachers and they may have less access to learning materials than

their male peers. The gender role ideology may even affect girls' chances to study science and technology⁷⁴ (Myers and Harvey 2011).

Early marriage and dowries: Girls' rights to schooling are compromised not only by the low value attached to their education but it is reinforced through the practices of early marriage and saving for dowries. The socio-cultural, patriarchal and religious values negatively influence girls' education when it is seen as a lesser priority than marriage⁷⁵. In some African countries, girls are withdrawn from school to ensure their participation in circumcision ceremonies and to prepare them for marriage (GCE 2005). For instance, in Kenya, early marriages, initiation rites and female circumcision are major causes of girls' dropout (Omwani 2011). In the Punjab province of Pakistan, the inevitability of giving a dowry hinders education, since many families have to decide either to save for their daughters' dowries or to pay for their education (GCE 2005). Moreover, the costs incurred in raising children and the poor prospects of girls earning an income push the girls out of their homes and into marriage. To lighten their economic burden and to safeguard girls' future, marriage is often deemed the best option by chronically poor families (Myers and Harvey 2011).

Girls also tend to drop out during the preparatory period before marriage, at the point of union or transfer to their marital home. Early marriage often goes under-reported or unreported as a cause of school dropout in many countries as it is seen as a private, cultural and family matter. In countries where this phenomenon is most prevalent, there can be a gap of many years between leaving school and marriage, signifying that the link between the two goes unrecognised. For instance, in Mali girls quit school not because of marriage, but to go to big cities to work as a maid and earn enough money for their marriage trousseau. This time lag suggests that the impact of early and forced marriage is probably underestimated (Myers and Harvey 2011).

⁷⁴ For instance, a girl in Cameroon reported that when "girls had a chance to use one of the five working computers in her school, the boys would say: 'Why are you holding a computer mouse when you will just end up holding a baby's napkin?'" (Myers and Harvey 2011: 14).

⁷⁵ In the developing countries, one in every seven girls marries before the age of 15. In countries like Niger, Chad, Mali, Bangladesh, Guinea and the Central African Republic, the rate of early and forced marriage is 60% and above which is markedly higher than in South Asia (46%) and in sub-Saharan Africa (38%) (Myers and Harvey 2011).

Geographic Location: Living in a disadvantaged area (under-developed or rural), which is often deficient in teachers and teaching resources, is a massive hurdle to learning. For instance, in Tanzania only 25% of poor rural children learn the basics as compared with 63% of affluent urban children. In some Latin American countries, achievement gaps in mathematics and reading between rural and urban students exceed 15%. Such disadvantages begin in the early grades. In Ghana, in 2011 urban pupils were twice as likely as their rural peers to reach minimum levels of English in Grade 3, and more than three times as likely by Grade 6. Only 45% of children of Grade 5 age could solve a two-digit subtraction in Balochistan province of Pakistan, as compared with 73% in Punjab province (UNESCO 2014b).

Geographical disadvantage is also exacerbated by poverty and gender. In Balochistan, only around one-quarter of girls from poor households achieve basic numeracy skills, while boys from well-off households approach a similar average to those in Punjab. In Iraq, the completion rate of affluent urban boys at lower secondary level is 58% while for poor rural girls it is only 3% (UNESCO 2014b). The rural/urban differences are striking where secondary education provision is concentrated in urban areas (Lewin 2007). In South and West Asia, 89% of rich urban adolescent boys completed lower secondary by the end of the decade, as compared to 13% of rural poor girls (UNESCO 2014b).

Distance to schools: Long distances to school pose a barrier to girls' access in most developing countries where female seclusion is observed culturally. Parents are often reluctant to let their daughters walk long distances for their safety and security (GCE 2005). In Bangladesh, 43% of girls experienced some form of sexual harassment on their way to school or college (Alam et al. 2010) and in Uganda, girls' vulnerability to sexual harassment on desolate paths and roads where men beg for sex was noted (Jones 2011). Such long commutes intensify pressure on girls to complete household chores before or after school, often limiting attendance or the time available for homework⁷⁶.

⁷⁶ In Uganda, cultural norms prevent girls from riding bicycles, while allowing the privilege to boys, thus increasing girls' commuting time over boys' (Jones 2011).

In Egypt and Pakistan, girls' enrolment decreases when schools are located at distances of 1.5 and 1 km respectively (GCE 2005). Concerns about girls' safety and observance of the cultural norm of *purdah* (seclusion) imposes a distance penalty on girls (Andrabi et al. 2007 cited in Qureshi 2015). *Purdah* norms in rural Pakistan restrict female mobility outside the house, particularly when girls reach the age of puberty. If girls are not accompanied to school, this implies a girl's reputation or honour (*izzat*) is at stake (she may become involved with men). Therefore, girls are not permitted to walk to school alone: they either walk to school with friends (which is considered safe) or accompanied by a household member which later often becomes harder to continue (Qureshi 2015).

Conflict: Conflict-affected countries have around half of the world's out-of-school population, with 95% in low and lower middle-income countries. Girls are the worst affected in such areas, constituting 55% of the total (UNESCO 2014b). In sub-Saharan Africa significant obstacles outside the education sector, most notably poverty, HIV/AIDS, corruption and conflict, hinder the achievement of education-related goals (Moyi 2012). For example, in Somalia a large proportion of girls suffered during the conflict. Parents were concerned about their safety when schools were attacked and female teachers and girl students abducted or killed. Due to the high value placed on virginity (a high bride price), girls were kept at home to avoid sexual violence and exploitation. Limited sanitation facilities, lack of female teachers and teaching and learning material added to the difficulties for girls attending school (Bekalo et al. 2003 cited in Moyi 2012). The non-availability of flexible schooling led girls to attend Koranic (religious) schools that were resource-deficient in all aspects. The involvement of men and boys in war changed household dynamics by increasing the responsibilities of women and girls, adding to their challenges in conflict-ridden Somalia. In Iraq, girls' safety remains an issue for the majority of parents, particularly in areas of major instability (UNESCO 2014b). In 2014, Boko Haram militants in Nigeria abducted 276 girls from a government secondary boarding school in Chibok, Borno state, where they were taking exams (BBC News 8th May 2017). In the KPK province of Pakistan, the bombing of girls' schools as well as the targeting of girls and teachers by militant Islamist groups blocked millions of girls' access to school (King and Winthrop 2015). The TTP destroyed 75% of the 424 girls' primary schools in

Swat from January to May 2009. In 2012, Malala Yusefzai was attacked and in 2014, the attack on the Army Public School led to the killing of 145 people, mostly school children (Human Rights Watch 2017).

Disability: The reasons for children not entering school vary considerably, but disability is a factor that is largely neglected in developing countries; little is known about the attendance patterns of disabled children, who are often denied their right to education⁷⁷. For instance, in Bangladesh, Bhutan and Iraq, children with mental impairments are most likely to be out of school throughout their life. In Iraq, 19% of children with hearing impairments and 51% with mental disabilities had never been to school. In Thailand, 34% of children with walking or moving impairments had never attended school (UNESCO 2014c). In developing countries, 41.7% of females with a disability completed primary school, as compared to 52.9% of females without a disability. Moreover, the literacy rate for women with disabilities was as low as 1%, and less than 20% of them had access to rehabilitation services (WHO 2011).

3.3.2. Rights within Education

Quality of Schools: Realising the right to education alone is insufficient if what is offered is poor in quality. Without meaningful learning, schools will only be categorised as holding camps, while parents continue to exercise trade-offs and children will drop out. The EFA Global Monitoring Reports lament this dilemma of access versus quality (Lewin 2009; UNESCO 2011; Dunnea & Ananga 2013; Attfield and Vu 2013). The expansion of access, although an important starting point, is not a sufficient indicator for quality education. What kind of education and under what conditions it is provided is important (Subrahmanian 2006). The shift in focus from access to quality has provided the impetus to look at the school environment and the role it plays in outcomes (Cameron 2011). The perceptions of parents about the value of education are strongly influenced by the quality of schools. In developing countries, most public schools are short of basic facilities like appropriate buildings with

⁷⁷ The data on children's disabilities is not straightforward as the household surveys normally lack information on the type and degree of disability, or the sample size is too small to draw accurate conclusions (UNESCO 2014c).

boundary walls, separate toilets for girls and boys, drinking water, and learning equipment in the classrooms. Children are frequently squeezed into overcrowded classrooms. The situation becomes worse when schools are not located near girls' homes, as discussed above.

Schools are portrayed as safe institutions meant for teaching and learning, the “places of rational instruction, engagement and action” (Morrell et al. 2009: 22 cited by de Lange et al. 2012). Conversely, in South Africa, schools are high-risk sites; more than 30% of girls were raped in and around school culminating in their dropping out⁷⁸ (Prinsloo 2006 cited by Lange et al. 2012). Gender-based violence by peers and teachers alike is a marked phenomenon in South African secondary schools. This is shown in aggressive sexual advances towards women teachers and girls by male educators and learners (de Lange et al. 2012). Girls are forced to have sex with their teachers or even with boys out of fear and face violent repercussions in the case of refusal (Gerver 2013). In Mali, 15% of children named a teacher responsible for the pregnancy of a classmate, leading parents to withdraw their daughters from school (Lucas 2012).

Schools are also sites where dominant social norms are inculcated in students from disadvantaged backgrounds and particularly in females (Ames 2012a). Girls face unequal outcomes as gender inequalities are institutionalised in norms, practices and structures of education systems (such as teachers' gender-biased attitudes and hidden curricula). The pervasiveness of these norms leads women to internalise negative perceptions about themselves, thus doubting their own abilities. Girls receive various messages from home and the community which lead to their self-exclusion by informally placing barriers to their participation (Subrahmanian 2005). The gender-biased attitude of teachers in giving more attention to boys in the classroom exacerbates the situation. For instance, in Uganda, due to continued gender bias in teaching methods and curricula, Primary School Leaving Exam scores are lower for

⁷⁸ Given the wider gender-based violence and inequalities in South Africa, children are brought up in HIV- and AIDS-affected communities where women are victims of male dominance, power and hegemonic masculinities. Girls and boys bring internalised knowledge from such environments into the classrooms (the unconscious curriculum), which influences the gender discourse and becomes a part of school culture (de Lange et al. 2012).

girls than boys (Murphy 2003 cited in Wells 2009). Gender inequalities are further reinforced by teacher-centred and authoritarian pedagogical practices that place teachers at the centre of the classroom environment, demanding compliance from all and particularly from girls. Teachers' negative attitudes and perceptions about girls' capabilities and motivations have a strong impact on girls' education. Girls are often considered less ambitious and intelligent while boys are considered highly motivated, intellectually superior and serious about their future. In large parts of India, gender segregation persists in classrooms, and teachers routinely use biased language, reinforcing discriminations against class, caste and gender (Subrahmanian 2003 cited in GCE 2005).

The pupil/teacher ratio is another measure used to assess the quality of schools, although it has barely changed globally at pre-primary, primary and secondary levels. In sub-Saharan Africa, teacher recruitment lags behind the increase in enrolment; 23 countries in the region have a pupil/teacher ratio exceeding 40:1 (UNESCO 2014b). According to one estimate, to achieve universal primary education, 5.2 million teachers were required between 2011 and 2015 and to achieve universal lower secondary education by 2030, an additional 5.1 million will be needed (UNESCO 2014b).

The availability of female teachers is crucial to attract girls to schools. There is a scarcity of female teachers because of their not wishing to live away from family in a far-flung area with security and hardship issues. This aggravates the educational deprivation of girls (Khan 2012). There is a shortage of female teachers, especially in those countries which have wide gender disparities (UNESCO 2015a). For instance, in Niger at primary school level the proportion of female teachers is 46%, falling to 22% in lower secondary and 18% in upper secondary schools. In Nepal, the figures are 42%, 27% and 16% respectively (UNESCO 2014b).

Parental involvement: The contribution of parental involvement in children's education has received greater attention in recent years and is being formalised in international and national policies. The role of parents is important in improving education systems, through their representation in decision-making bodies and as

partners in the learning processes of their children (Baeck 2009). Parents who have some formal education tend to participate more in home-school cooperation than do parents with less education. Parents with a working-class background have a more pronounced feeling of separation from school than middle-class parents. They withdraw from active involvement in their children's education, making teachers solely responsible for their education (ibid.).

In the Western context, the parental involvement level varies according to the socio-economic status (SES) of parents, and studies have shown a clear relationship between social class and parental involvement. In some Asian countries, studies show that parental involvement is not limited to family resources; parents with limited resources maximise their involvement in children's education (Ho 2003 cited in Nguon 2012). Ho (2003) also highlighted parental involvement as being more important than parental investment in creating an ideal learning environment for children. Nguon (2012) argues that the effects of *what parents do rather than what they have* is vital to understand their involvement, as the parents of lower SES may evaluate schooling in the same way as parents from higher SES. For instance, Cambodian parents engage actively (both at home and in school) in their children's education, checking their homework, providing private tutoring, contributing money to school and working effectively as community members (ibid.).

Transition from primary to secondary school: In Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia, gender gaps at the transition phase from primary to upper primary and secondary levels of education persist (OECD 2012; King and Winthrop 2015). Secondary education in most developing countries is heavily skewed in favour of the better-off classes and in most cases towards boys (Birdsall et al. 2005). In South and West Asia, inequalities remain unchanged as 89% of urban males completed lower secondary as compared to 13% of rural girls by the end of the decade (UNESCO 2014b). The gaps at secondary level are particularly alarming as the transitions from primary to secondary levels coincide with adolescence (the critical age of 12-14 years), the time when the future (educational) opportunities of girls are determined (Subrahmanian 2007). At puberty, girls are pushed into seclusion and are assigned more household chores to prepare them for marital life. Moreover, when girls reach a marriageable age, family

opposition to secondary schooling increases and most girls in South Asia are still married in their teens (Khan 2012).

In many countries of sub-Saharan Africa, secondary school enrolments remain low (the average rate of transition from primary to secondary in Africa is 64% as compared to 88% for all developing countries). The major deterrent for primary school leavers to gain access to lower secondary education is the cost of schooling (Ohba 2011). In Rwanda, despite the increase in primary school enrolment, secondary schooling is unaffordable for many families. A fee sponsorship for secondary schooling was awarded to those girls who attended a free middle school and who did not live near a free public secondary school (Gerver 2013). The advantages of a polytechnic course (in terms of earning money through technical skills) led primary school leavers and particularly girls to join youth polytechnic institutes, even when secondary school fees were abolished (Ohba 2011). In some developing Muslim countries, girls are enrolled in Islamic/religious schools, for instance, *madrasahs* in Pakistan.

Dropout: Generally, dropout is defined as quitting the school, ignoring other contextual considerations. It is a complex issue that has various definitions and its causes vary depending upon circumstances (Huisman & Smit 2009). Dropout is a gradual process and the interplay of social processes behind this phenomenon has led to its localised exploration. A focus on different factors in families, schools and communities reveals a complex interaction that pushes or pulls children out of school (Ananga 2011a; Dunnea and Ananga 2013; Sabates et al. 2013).

The out-of-school children in developing countries are mostly dropouts. This fact is often overlooked when emphasis is given to the minority who never attend school (UNESCO 2005a). To achieve a goal of universal lower secondary level by 2030, children need to stay in school at least nine years (UNESCO 2014b). In South and West Asia and in sub-Saharan Africa, one of every three children who start school drops out before completion (Lewin & Little 2011). In much of Africa, the problem is not about enrolling children but about their starting school and then dropping out (Ananga 2011b). In sub-Saharan Africa, about 28 million children dropped out before completion (UNESCO 2010 cited by Ananga 2011b). For instance, in Ghana, over

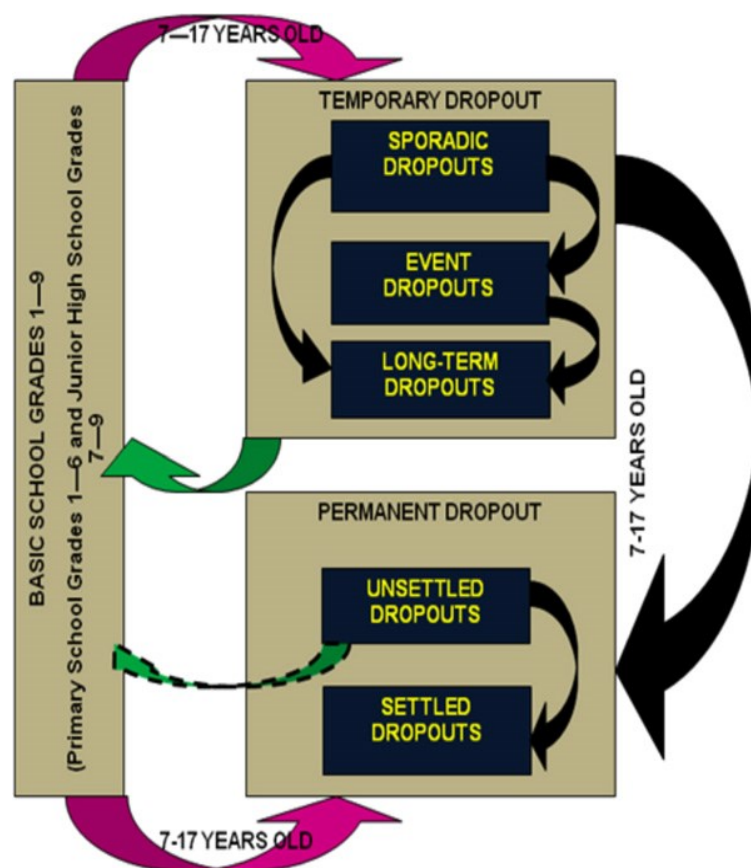
20% of school-age children dropped out, with boys having a higher dropout rate than girls. There are wide regional variations as well: a child's likelihood of dropping out also depends upon the place of residence, as the number of out-of-school children doubles in rural areas over urban locations. Despite the increase in primary school enrolment in Bangladesh, the completion rate has not improved since 2000; this is around 60%, with grade repetition and dropout remaining a significant challenge (Sabates et al. 2013). In India, the dropout rate is greater for girls than for boys, representing 47% of enrolment in Grade 1 and 43% in Grade 10.

Institutional regimes⁷⁹ can contribute to a hostile environment inside schools (Akyeampong et al. 2007 cited by Dunnea and Ananga 2013). In the Andean region, the fragile relation of rural poor girls with school causes their permanent or temporary dropout. The poorly resourced and linguistically alien schools, low expectations of teachers for rural girls, old-fashioned and ineffective pedagogies and gendered practices that reinforce traditional female roles push girls out of school. Many dropout girls found school less attractive and engaged themselves in household activities by learning those skills that make them valued women in their culture. For them, school has nothing to offer (Ames 2012b). In Ghana, Dunnea and Ananga (2013) investigated how the school itself set conditions for poor students, for instance, school regulations regarding re-admission of dropouts in case of being overage for a particular grade.

Ananga (2011b: 378) identified five dimensions of school dropout in Ghana, as shown in Figure 3.1.

⁷⁹ Operational rules and practices in schools such as sexual and verbal abuse and corporal punishment, reproduced through age and gender (Dunnea and Ananga 2013).

Figure 3.1: Typology of Dropout



The figure shows the following types of dropout:

1. **Sporadic:** dropping out temporarily due to economic survival needs
2. **Event:** temporary termination due to some critical event (death, sickness, conflict with school)
3. **Long-term:** leaving school for some years with the possibility of returning
4. **Unsettled:** permanently dropping out without any prospects of economic activity
5. **Settled:** permanent drop out to be engaged in a vocation, trade, or other economic activity due to perceived diminishing value of education.

Contemporary research lacks information on the life courses of children and other inter-related events. Most studies have tended to quantify dropout through an objective lens and compared trends in different contexts by logging attendance and absence over

days, terms and years (Dunnea and Ananga 2013). The perspective of dropout based on child-within-context⁸⁰ and studied over time clarifies the dynamics of this process (Sabates et al. 2013). The dropout issue is further taken up in Chapter 8 where results from this study are discussed.

3.3.3. Rights through Education

Education empowers women to claim their rights and overcome the barriers that prevent them from getting a fair share in the development gains. Having the freedom to delay marriage, to choose one's spouse and to decide on the number and spacing of children is one such right. Women in India with at least secondary education are 30% more likely to have a say regarding the choice of spouse than less educated women. In sub-Saharan Africa, South and West Asia, the number of girls getting married by age 15 would fall by 14% if girls completed primary level of school, and 64% fewer girls would get married if they completed secondary education (UNESCO 2014b). Staying in school longer also makes girls more confident about making choices that can avert the health risks of early births and births in quick succession. In sub-Saharan Africa and South and West Asia, currently one in seven girls bear children before the age of 17. In these regions, 10% fewer girls would conceive if they all had primary education, and 59% fewer would become pregnant if they all had secondary education, resulting in around 2 million fewer early births (UNESCO 2014b). Knowledge and self-confidence in sexual and reproductive health matters can be transformative for girls, particularly in the context of the AIDS epidemic (GCE 2005). Education enables women to have a greater influence on family size. In Pakistan, only 30% of women with no education believe they have a say over the number of children as compared with 52% of women having primary education and 63% having lower secondary education. In sub-Saharan Africa (where women have an average of 5.4 live births), women with no education have 6.7 births on average. This declines for women with primary education who have an average of 5.8 births and it further declines for women with secondary education who have 3.9 births on average (UNESCO 2014b).

⁸⁰ A context that involves an understanding of the child's gender, health/disability status, socio-economic status, etc.

Chapter 3: Understanding Gendered Inequalities in Education

In Pakistan, working women with good literacy skills earn 95% more than women with weak literacy skills; in rural Indonesia, the chances of women falling back into poverty are reduced by 25% with an additional year of schooling (UNESCO 2013). In Peru, the educational aspirations of rural, indigenous and marginalised women and young girls were the driving force to transform their lives by challenging the gendered stereotypes (Ames 2012a). Educational credentials and better-paid jobs were considered important not only for the individual but for the whole family; for example, many girls mentioned helping their siblings in school expenses and supporting their elderly parents. Besides this, rural girls wanted to pursue an educational career to overcome various inequalities (poverty, gender oppression and ethnic discrimination), to delay marriage and to stop appearing rural and indigenous (ibid.).

Thus, it is seen that girls' rights to education in terms of access are influenced by a number of factors such as the cost of schooling, distance to school, geographical location, conflict/disasters and disability. Socio-cultural norms and practices such as son-preference, the perceived value of girls' education, dowries and early marriages, parental and community support also hindered girls' educational opportunities. The rights within education in terms of educational environment and processes are determined by the quality of the school (including its basic infrastructure), the availability of female teachers, transition from primary to secondary level of education and parental involvement in girls' education. The deprivation of both these rights impinges upon girls' rights through education, undermining the development of capabilities as well as outcomes beyond schooling.

To further explore the impact of the material context of households and the perpetuation of gender and social norms in households and communities within developing countries, Pierre Bourdieu's conceptual apparatus including habitus, capital and field⁸¹ is discussed in the next section.

⁸¹ It is important to note that the aim of this study was not to follow Bourdieu's whole theoretical constructs but to use those of his concepts that are relevant to the material and cultural context of Pakistan and the study participants.

3.4. Bourdieu's Conceptual Apparatus

Bourdieu (1990) argued that social differences and inequalities are legitimised in the field of education not only through various practices of pedagogy but also through the symbolic violence that the dominant groups exercise to assert their social control. He highlighted the stratified education system in French *grandes écoles*⁸² in recruiting students from the dominant class to maintain their predominance in society. Such schools provide students with a social and intellectual atmosphere which supports the symbolic capital (the culture of the dominant group⁸³) embodied in these schools (Harker 1984; Mills 2008). Bourdieu (1974) had also argued that the education system is biased in favour of the culture which the dominant classes possess. Hence, the major role of the education system is the reproduction of culture. The possession of dominant culture can be translated into wealth and power via the educational system. Sullivan (2007) argues that Bourdieu's theory of cultural reproduction explains the link between the class of one's origin and the class of one's destination. This link is established by the cultural capital's impact on educational attainment.

In the field of educational research, Bourdieu exerts a profound influence through his *conceptual apparatus* or *thinking tools*, consisting of habitus, capital and field, to analyse social and educational inequalities (Nash 1990; Swartz 1997; Calhoun 2003; Dillabough 2004; Jenkins 2004; Grenfell 2008; Atkinson 2011). These are individual but interlinked concepts as shown by the equation (Bourdieu 1984: 101):

$$[(\text{habitus}) (\text{capital})] + \text{field} = \text{practice}$$

It shows that *practice* is generated through the interaction between a person's habitus (disposition), his/her position in the field (such as a household, family or education) depending upon the form and amount of the capital (economic, cultural and social) which one possesses (Reay 2004). A number of feminists have appropriated

⁸² Elite schools.

⁸³ The dominant group is the group which controls the social, political and economic resources.

Bourdieu's ideas (see Moi 1991; Reay 1998; Lowler 2004; Huppatz 2009); however, in this research, his concepts of habitus, capital and field have been used drawing on specific literature. These concepts are discussed next.

3.4.1. Habitus

Habitus is central to Bourdieu's sociological theory⁸⁴ (Reay 2004). It is "one of the most misunderstood, misused and hotly contested" ideas (Maton 2008: 49) and is "more than a confusing wordplay" (McKnight and Chandler 2012: 83). It is "a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrate past experiences, functions at every moment as matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions" (Bourdieu 1977: 82). It is fit for all social settings as no one could be without a habitus (Calhoun 1998). Habitus consists of the unconscious patterns of being and perceiving acquired during long exposure to social conditions. Individuals in similar circumstances share such conditions which further act as a filter through which the world is experienced. Thus, habitus is not only a structuring structure that forms individuals' behaviours, perceptions and expectations but itself is being structured by the social forces and conditions of the field that produce it (Wacquant 2008). As Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992: 133) stated:

Habitus is not the fate that some people read into it. Being the product of history, it is the open system of dispositions that is constantly subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies its structures.

In the embodied sense, it is visible in durable ways of "standing, speaking, walking, and thereby of feeling and thinking" (Bourdieu 1990: 70). It is the "internalised structure and the physical embodiment of objective structure" (Nash 1990: 434). Habitus is, first, formed within the family (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). It develops from very childhood as through the socialisation process children learn their place in the social structures. They internalise this learning at a very young age and evaluate themselves according to their gender, race, socio-economic status and cultural belonging (Dumais 2002; Calhoun 2003). For instance, in Pakistan, the internalisation of patriarchal practices (such as son preference, dowry and early marriage of girls)

⁸⁴ Habitus is, however, not a concept original to Bourdieu. Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas, Hegel, Weber, Mauss, Husserl, Merleau Ponty and Durkheim have already used it (Wacquant 2008; Grenfell 2008).

shapes parents' attitudes to and perceptions about girls' education. This could be termed as "familial habitus: the deeply ingrained system of perspectives, experiences and predispositions family members share" (Reay 1998: 527). Thus, social and gender inequalities are reproduced through parental aspirations about their children (girls in this study) and through their shaping of distinct habituses (Vryonides 2007). As a system of embodied dispositions, habitus is the product of lived experiences. It makes possible the production of thoughts, perceptions and actions inherent in the particular conditions of its production. Habitus formulates a framework which enables our view of the world (Vryonides 2007 cited in Vryonides and Gouvias 2012). The social trajectories of individuals diverge from one another; therefore, habitus within as well as between social groups varies (Reay 2004). For instance, Reay (ibid.) investigated the impact of *gendered habitus* (in the form of parental involvement in children's education which falls heavily on the shoulders of women) on children's education. This researcher uses this approach in her study to investigate the impact of gendered habitus (of both female and male respondents) on girls' educational outcomes.

Other than family habitus, there is *cultured habitus* that exists in schools (Bourdieu 1967 cited in Reay 2004), also called *organisational habitus* (McDonough 1997) or *institutional habitus* (Reay 1998). In the gender and development context, Arun (2017: 7) explored the change, continuity and conflict in Kerala, India within a framework of *development feminist habitus*. She stressed that the norms and practices not only "engender male bias in development practices and policies, [but also] within intra-household relations" (ibid.: 22). For instance, in India caste practices define gender relations in households through control, ownership and access to resources, marriage relations, labour force participation and engagement with the community (ibid.: 57).

3.4.2. Capital

Bourdieu (1986) argues that it is not possible to take account of the functioning of social world unless capital, not just in the economic sense but in all its forms, is reintroduced. The position of any individual, group or institution in a social space depends on the overall volume of the capital, the composition of the capital they possess and the evolution in time of its volume and composition according to their trajectory in social space (Wacquant 2008). Bourdieu's economic, cultural and social capitals "demonstrate how relative positions and the relation between these positions

constitute forms of power, enabling bodies to move in social space” (Skeggs 2004: 16). These different forms of capital are discussed next.

Economic capital includes wealth and property which can be converted into money immediately and directly, and can be institutionalised in the form of property rights (Bourdieu 1986). The dominant class is distinguished from other social groups due to a substantial possession of economic capital transferable to the next generation for its reproduction (Swartz, 1997). However, there is also unequal distribution of economic capital within the dominant class. Robinson and Garnier (1985) argued that formal education plays no role in reproducing ownership of businesses; for instance, petty bourgeoisie fathers do not need their sons to acquire a good education to inherit the family business. Bourdieu (1986) contended that economic capital lies at the root of all other capitals which can be derived from it; however, the conversion of one form of capital into another requires effort and time to reap the profit. The role of material resources cannot be ignored as they affect the educational outcome in many ways. For instance, well-off parents can invest in their children by gaining access to better schools, arranging additional tuition for them and providing educational resources like computers and their own space for study (Sullivan 2007). The economic capital of parents is a valuable input in children’s education. Children from wealthier families stay at school longer as the direct and opportunity costs are less important for them (Huisman & Smits 2009).

Economic capital is defined as how much wealth (money, property/assets) a family possesses, and is determined by parental income and occupation (as this study will take up in Chapter 6). Those who possess much economic capital yield more gain from their investment (Cameron 2011). Since household wealth may influence investment in schooling, the demand for schooling increases with increased household wealth if education is valued as consumption. Returns on education also differ by household wealth as rich households tend to invest more, which further leads to differences in the efficiency of schooling that is converted into human capital (Filmer 2005).

Cultural capital has three forms (Bourdieu 1986):

- The *embodied state* (culture, cultivation, *Bildung*) exists in the form of long-lasting dispositions of mind and body⁸⁵.
- The *objectified state* comprises cultural goods like pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, forms of writing, paintings, monuments, etc.
- The *institutionalised state* is educational qualifications.

Cultural capital is a major determinant of life chances as “different bodies carry unequal values depending on ... their cultural baggage ... [that is] the capitals they embody” (Skeggs 2004: 17). The unequal distribution of cultural capital conserves social hierarchies under the cloak of individual talent and academic meritocracy. Bourdieu (1984) argued that children from advantageous backgrounds have similar cultural understandings which operate in education systems, therefore they are judged favourably by the system’s gatekeepers: schools, teachers and assessment authorities⁸⁶. Children from higher social classes are already familiar with the knowledge that exists in schools and have acquired the means by which to decode the meaning of cultural goods in their families. In contrast to children from disadvantaged backgrounds, they have a readiness for school because the former are less exposed to the dominant culture of schools (Iannelli 2013). Thus, “schooling places poor children in permanent ‘catch up’ mode, while children from better-off families remain in ‘extension’ mode” (Teese and Lamb 2007: 302 cited by Iannelli 2013).

Parents from advantaged backgrounds provide different forms of capital to young generations that indicate their placement in the social arena. During the process of habitus formation, capital in its non-material form proliferates, shapes and reshapes habitus and creates new conditions within which individuals act (Vryonides &

⁸⁵ This state presumes a process of embodiment or incorporation suggesting a labour of inculcation and assimilation. It costs time which “must be invested personally by the investor”. It can be neither delegated nor acquired as a second-hand product, nor can it be transmitted instantaneously like any gift, money, property, or any title of nobility; rather it is a sort of external wealth that becomes an integral part of the person’s habitus (Bourdieu 1986: 244).

⁸⁶ There is evidence that children from cultured backgrounds achieve higher grades in exams in the US, UK, Australia, Germany and The Netherlands (see DiMaggio 1982; De Graaf 1986; Crook 1997; De Graaf, De Graaf and Kraaykamp 2000; Sullivan 2001).

Gouvias 2012). Based on their opportunities, past experiences and available capital, parents employ different strategies to maximise their investment in their children's educational and occupational future. Since cultural capital is not evenly distributed amongst different classes, it is the major source of class differences in educational attainment. Bourdieu was mainly interested in cultural capital and its transmission (Nash 1990; Calhoun 1998). He stated:

The notion of cultural capital initially presented itself to me, in the course of research, as a theoretical hypothesis which made it possible to explain the unequal scholastic achievement of children originating from the different social classes by relating academic success, i.e., the specific profits which children from the different classes and class fractions can obtain in the academic market, to the distribution of cultural capital between the classes and class fractions. (Bourdieu 1986: 47)

Kraaykamp and Eijck (2010) argued that the three forms of cultural capital have never been fully operationalised in empirical studies: the embodied and institutionalised forms have gained more interest among researchers. For some, cultural capital in the form of *beaux arts* participation is a very narrow interpretation; it should include those skills and knowledge which are rewarded in the education system (see De Graaf et al. 2000; Sullivan 2001; Lareau and Weininger 2003). However, it is crucial to determine which are those skills and forms of knowledge that constitute cultural capital, what is the mechanism which the parents undertake for their children's educational success and how the schools' rewarding of cultural capital can be arbitrary, thus favouring the middle class. It is, therefore, a crucial challenge for researchers to develop a broad operationalisation of cultural capital (Sullivan 2007). Some authors have explored the link between cultural participation and young people's educational attainment. For instance, Crook (1997) and De Graaf, De Graaf and Kraaykamp (2000) categorised public forms of cultural participation (visiting art galleries, theatre and attending concerts) and reading as cultural capital. Both contended that in contrast to *beaux arts* participation, reading is strongly associated with academic success. Sullivan (2001) argues that not only reading but also TV viewing habits impact significantly on GCSE examination results. Reay (1998) noted that parental cultural capital influences the educational provision for marginalised students.

Cultural capital could also include the expected behaviours, language competencies, explicit and implicit values, knowledge, attitudes to and relationship with academic culture required for success in school (Henry et al. 1988: 233 cited in Mills 2008). Webb et al. (2002) deemed an educated character (based on knowledge, refined accents and disposition to learn and value education highly) as important elements of cultural capital. Objects in the form of books, computers and qualifications, and institutions such as libraries, schools and universities, also carry cultural capital. Sullivan's (2001) operationalisation of cultural capital is very broad as it involved not only parental cultural capital but also that of the pupils. She argued that cultural capital transmitted in homes had a significant impact on the performance of pupils in their GCSE examinations.

Thus, the transmission of educational advantage through cultural capital is not restricted to participation in high culture; rather, it takes various forms. Researchers need to distinguish between the impacts of different mechanisms of cultural capital on educational attainment. Participation in cultural activities is only one such way; other mechanisms such as reading or transmitting ideas and beliefs have remained under-researched (Sullivan 2007). To suit their research purposes, researchers have chosen one of the three forms of cultural capital, such as parental educational level (the institutionalised form), as a proxy for cultural capital overall and its impact on children's educational outcomes. For instance, Reay (1998), Sullivan (2001), Lareau and Weininger (2003) and Kraaykamp and Eijck (2010) noted a positive relationship between parental education and schooling of children⁸⁷. This study follows this approach by using parental educational level as a proxy for their cultural capital.

Social capital enjoys great currency in inter-disciplinary research. Like cultural capital, it carries different meanings and interpretations⁸⁸. However, Bourdieu (1986: 247) defined social capital as:

⁸⁷ For example, highly educated parents are convinced of the benefits of education and are more familiar with the education system; they motivate their children to do well in school, help them with their homework, maintain a positive learning environment in the home, provide resources, etc.

⁸⁸ Besides Bourdieu, American sociologists James Coleman and Robert Putnam have contributed towards theorising social capital. For Coleman (1988: 300) social capital is "the set of resources that

Chapter 3: Understanding Gendered Inequalities in Education

the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition -or in other words, to membership in a group- which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word.

Bourdieu (1986) further argued that these relationships may exist only in the practical state, and in material and/or symbolic exchanges. These exchanges help to maintain these relationships; they can be socially instituted by giving them a common name (such as family, class, tribe, school, party, etc.) (Bourdieu 1986).

Social capital is also the integration that exists within a network or connections and which can be mobilised for a specified goal (Nash 1990; Crossley 2001). For instance, it can be used to back up the economic yield of educational qualification (Bourdieu 1986: 51) or the making of connections by parents in the school community network for a particular purpose (Nguon 2012). This implies to gain support for girls' education or to maintain personal contacts with teachers as community members to whom their girls may aspire (i.e. teachers as role models). Thus, the concept of social capital is more extensive as it includes community-based relationships and is useful in understanding the importance of interactive networks as a resource for students' learning. To achieve the collective goal of [girls'] education, social capital allows a dynamic flow of resources from one link in the network to another and makes it possible to achieve objectives which otherwise are difficult to achieve (Nguon 2012).

Sullivan (2007) argued that the attention which is given to a child at home and through the networks within schools and communities, should also be considered part of social capital. This not only influences the behaviour and educational development of students but also leads to lower dropout rates (Israel et al. 2001). School attainment is positively linked with social capital in a significant relationship (Dika and Singh 2002). Social capital not only supports educational success in the form of academic

inhere in family relations and in community social organisation and that are useful for the cognitive or social development of a child or young person". Social capital plays an important role in educational outcomes of children. Those children who have closely knit networks perform better in schools. In such networks, parents, teachers and local community interact with each other and facilitate children's educational success (Coleman 1987). Putnam (1993: 35) defined social capital as the "features of social organizations, such as networks, norms and trust that facilitate action and cooperation for mutual benefit".

climate at school but also fosters cultural norms and values which inspire and encourage students to attain higher goals (Acar 2011).

The volume of social capital possessed by an individual depends on the extent of network connections and their effective mobilisation. It also depends on the volume of economic and cultural capital which one possesses in one's own right and by each of those persons with whom one is connected. It implies that social capital does not exist completely independently (Bourdieu 1986). Rather it draws attention not only towards human sociability and connectedness but also to their relationship with the individual and social structure and towards their effects and consequences. Social capital works best as an analytical tool if it is taken at an individual level rather than at the aggregate levels of communities, societies or nations (Tzanakis 2013).

Drawing upon Bourdieu, Nowotny (1981 cited in Reay 2004) introduced emotional capital, which is mostly possessed by women in the private sphere, within the bounds of affective relationships of family and friends. It constitutes not only knowledge, contacts and relations but access to emotionally valued skills and assets that can be passed on to loved ones (*ibid.*). Allatt (1993) extended emotional resources by including love and affection, care and concern, support, patience, commitment and spending of time and skills gained from formal education which mothers use for their children's educational advancement. Reay (2004) explained the link between emotional capital, emotional involvement and educational achievement by investigating mothers' involvement and intense emotional engagement in their children's education. This kind of mothering (emotional management) focuses on children's emotions in the context of their schooling. Women in Reay's research (*ibid.*) also showed both positive and negative emotions regarding their children's schooling, including guilt, anxiety and frustration as well as empathy and encouragement. This emotional involvement was very much gendered with women in the lead role and men distant. Working-class and middle-class women differed in supplying their children with resources of emotional capital. The former was disadvantaged by "poverty, negative personal experiences of schooling, insufficient educational knowledge and lack of confidence" (*ibid.*: 65). There were also costs to mothers in addition to their emotional involvement in their children's schooling, such as using time and emotional energy, often unsupported male partners (Reay 2004).

3.4.3. Field

Bourdieu argued that to understand interactions between people and to explain social phenomena, it is crucial to examine the social space in which interactions and events occur (Bourdieu 2005). Such social spaces are the fields or “configurations where actors have certain interests and things are at stake” (Bourdieu 1993: 72). Bourdieu himself investigated a number of fields in his writings, such as education, culture, science, television, housing and bureaucracy (Thomson 2008). A field is compared to a game where different groups of actors play (or fight) to achieve hegemonic power. These actors possess cards (i.e. different capitals) of different value (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). However, the relative value of capital as a trump card varies according to the field and its conditions. As capital cannot exist and function outside a field, its value is dependent on the existence of a field. The hierarchy of different types of capital varies in different fields, in the same way as the relative value of cards changes with the game (Baeck 2009). The fundamental types of capital resemble cards that are valid and effective in all fields; however, their relative value as trump card varies according to the field and its conditions. This implies that capital is field-dependent and the field is constituted by capital (Collins 1993).

Bourdieu’s concept of field is helpful in understanding the hierarchical power relations operating in different societal spheres; for instance, the interaction between parents and teachers (Baeck 2009). In the field of Norwegian schools, Baeck (2009) noted teachers as the dominant group holding the power or trump cards. Being professionals, they possessed valid knowledge about each pupil’s performance and behaviour. Parents possessed only the knowledge based on their own experience with their child as a person and the environment in which the child lived. In the case of lower educational levels, parents’ cards may not be of high value, and they may be unable to challenge the professional discourses during parent-teacher meetings (Baeck 2009). A family is also a field; Chapter 2 showed that multiple actors make up a family with conflicting interests, preferences and differential abilities. There is conflict as well as cooperation which is determined by the bargaining power and fall-back position of family members, in which men are at an advantage.

Although Bourdieu’s theoretical constructs help in understanding unequal scholastic attainment, he was criticised for overstating his theory of reproduction (see Jenkins

1992; Sullivan 2001). His main criticisms are summarised. **a)** Bourdieu's work is not novel or original; he was influenced by Mauss and Goffman, and the history of social theory is replete with similar examples (Jenkins 1992; Calhoun 2003). **b)** Habitus is overtly deterministic, particularly in terms of Bourdieu's treatment of agency/structure which ignores the role of human agency (Jenkins 1992; Swartz 1997; Grenfell and James 1998; Lamont and Lareau 1988; Sullivan 2001; Calhoun 2003). **c)** Bourdieu only acknowledged the existence of cultural capital possessed by the dominant groups of society and ignored the cultural capital possessed by non-dominant groups, for instance, poor black youth in the US or the culture of working classes (Livingstone and Sawchuk 2000; Carter 2003). **d)** The complexity, vagueness and ambiguity of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts, particularly of habitus and field, have been pointed out by many authors (see Lamont and Lareau 1988; Nash 1990; Jenkins 1992; Sullivan 2002; Calhoun 2003; Dillabough 2004). **e)** Bourdieu has been criticised for giving an inadequate explanation of social change, which appears peripheral in his model (Jenkins 1992; Swartz 1997).

Krais (2006) argued otherwise, that Bourdieu's analytical tools and his notion of practice opened up new analytical perspectives for feminist sociological theory. Bourdieu's concepts are not merely reproductive but also transformative and can bring change in the educational outcomes of marginalised students by suggesting possibilities for schools and teachers (Mills 2008). Webb et al. (2002) also stressed that although Bourdieu studied the French school system, which is considered closed and elitist, his ideas are still applicable and relevant to open and democratic school systems of modern societies which claim to advance the cause of every child. However, it is necessary to consider the context of school systems operating in different countries. The inter-generational reproduction and transmission of his capitals is a complex process that could only be understood if all those distinguished by Bourdieu are taken into consideration (Kraaykamp and Eijck 2010). His typology of capitals as a resource-based approach is useful in exploring how women may be empowered to resist dominations of gender, class or race. It also allows exploration of the different positions of women and men and their differential access to resources or capital (Bradley 2013).

Table 3.3 shows the application of Bourdieu's concepts to the gendered and social context of girls' education in Pakistan (see Arun 2017 for a similar approach to gender and development contexts in Kerala).

Table 3.3: Application of Bourdieu's theories

Bourdieu	Gender and Development	Gender and Education
Habitus	Naturalisation of gender, race, ethnic (kinship) discourse, control of body and sexuality	Gender and social norms (son preference, dowry, early marriage, sexual harassment)
Field	Modernisation, educational access	Physical conditions of field such as quality of school, distance to school, curriculum, parental involvement, attitudes of teacher
Capital	Socio-economic context, socio-cultural values, attitudes, perceptions	Material and poverty based context, Social networks, Parental education and awareness, Activation/conversion of capitals, Loss of capital (dropout)

(adapted from Arun 2017: 22)

This table shows the overarching themes relating to gender and education within a Bourdieusian framework. In the gender and development discourse, habitus naturalises inequalities on the basis of gender, race, ethnicity/kinship and control of body and sexuality. Education is considered a modernising and liberating force that brings progress and prosperity to a society (Bradley and Saigol 2012). It is thus a field into which access is determined by the socio-economic status of the players/agents (capitals) and their socio-cultural values and attitudes to girls' education (habitus). In the field of gender and education, habitus (which is first formed in the family) perpetuates gendered practices and socio-cultural norms such as son preference, early marriage, dowries and sexual harassment. Education is not merely a static field but includes certain other characteristics such as quality of schools, distance to school, curriculum, parental involvement and the role of teachers in shaping girls' educational participation. Similarly, in the gender and education discourse, capital connotes

material context and social networks, parental awareness about girls' education and activation of capitals for girls' educational and development outcomes, whereas the loss of capital results in dropout and capability deprivation. These issues will be further taken up in the analytical Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

3.5. Conclusion

This chapter reviewed some theoretical frameworks useful in capturing gender issues in education, comprising a Rights Framework and selected concepts of Pierre Bourdieu. It briefly described gender issues in education in the West, including boys' underachievement and girls' success discourse, the role of the hidden curriculum, class/race and ethnic educational inequalities and women's lower participation in STEM. This was followed by a brief description of global neoliberal trend in education explaining the privatization of public educational provision. A detailed account of contemporary challenges faced by developing countries in the field of gender and education within the ambit of a Rights Framework was provided. The chapter also explained the household and institutional-level factors which create and maintain gender inequalities in education, such as cost of schooling, distance to school, perceived value of educating girls, socio-cultural norms of early marriage and dowry, disability, conflict/disasters, quality of schools, role of teachers, transition and dropout. To explore the social and material contexts which generate different forms of inequality in developing countries, Bourdieu's triad of habitus, capital and field were discussed as useful analytical tools. A combination of the Rights Framework and Bourdieu's concepts is useful in extracting issues of gender and social norms, parental attitudes to female education and quality of schooling in the developing contexts.

Before proceeding to empirical analysis of gender inequalities in Pakistan, the next chapter discusses gender regimes to highlight the gendered structures, norms and behaviours in Pakistan.

Chapter 4: Gender Regimes in Pakistan

This chapter describes the gender regimes in Pakistan, showing the structural and institutional causes of gender inequalities and women's subordination. Section One presents the wider gender order of Pakistan. Section Two discusses the main gender regimes: the state, religion, health, labour market, and family. It illustrates the nature of gender relations in these regimes and explains their interplay, which works to women's disadvantage generally and particularly in education. Section Three concludes the chapter.

4.1. Gender order in Pakistan

Pakistan is part of the classic patriarchal belt that extends through the Middle East, South Asia, China and South-East Asia (Kandiyoti 1988; Mumtaz and Salway 2009). However, the spread of patriarchy is uneven as it varies by class, region, ethnicity and the rural-urban location. Patriarchal structures are relatively stronger in rural and tribal settings where male authority and power over women's lives is established by local custom (ADB 2000). Women are treated as sexual objects with no mind/wisdom or voice (Latif 2009). The key element of the cultural constitution of female identity is dependence on men. The patriarchal order of Pakistan places men as the central decision makers in both public and private spheres. It is believed that the male, as the physically stronger sex, is the maintainer and protector of women, an ideology unequivocally established through marriage (Patel 2003). A powerful ideology of togetherness and inter-dependence also characterises Pakistani families, binding the activities and resources of family members (Mumtaz and Salway 2009).

In Pakistan, kinship groups are organised around class, occupation and geographic location. The majority of Pakistanis consider kinship as the most fundamental basis of identity, superseding membership of a particular religious sect, social group or economic class (Latif 2013). However, *biradari* (group of male kin) plays a significant role in social relations, for instance, celebrating major life events such as birth, marriage, death and major religious holidays together, contributing food, arranging

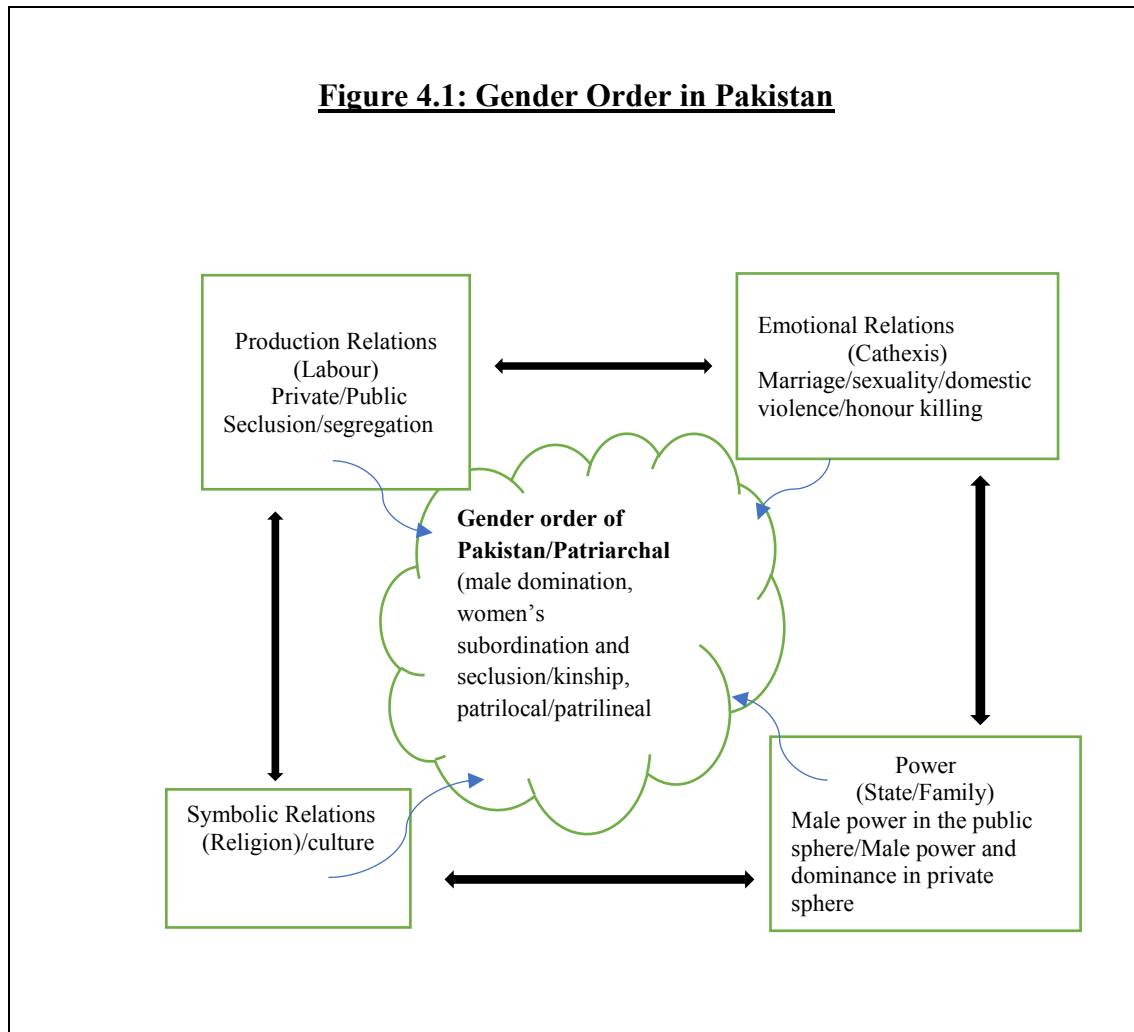
loans, assisting in finding employment, contributing to dowries for poor girls (Blood 1994). The marriage system in Pakistan is family-centred as all marriages are arranged within either families or clans, and are meant to strengthen kinship ties, through a three-generational patrilocal household and patrilineal descent (Patel 2003; Isran and Isran 2012). This complex patrilocal-patrilineal mixture carries significant implications for women and gender relations as it entails strict social controls to govern women's social and economic behaviour, leading to their oppression and subordination (Kandiyoti 1988; Isran and Isran 2012).

Nussbaum (2000: 2) stated: "often women are not treated as ends in their own right, persons with a dignity that deserves respect from laws and institutions. Instead they are treated as mere instruments of the ends of others – reproducers, care givers, sexual outlets, and agents of a family's general prosperity". Most women in Pakistan are embodiments of this description. The gender order implicates women in social and cultural descriptors of evil, *Zan*, *Zar*, *Zameen* (Women, Money and Land), which are often used as a tool of blaming women and treating them as material objects and the cause of social ills (Ali and Gavino 2008). Women are also vulnerable to chauvinistic forces that impose restrictions on them through varying interpretations of Islam, often in conjunction with primitive tribal and feudal traditions (Raza and Murad 2010). Politicians, feudal lords and the masses tend to misinterpret Islam based on "hearing and believing" knowledge (Latif 2009: 426). For women in Pakistan, inheritance is a problematic issue. They often forfeit their inheritance if their brothers or sons receive their share, and they remain unable to pursue inheritance cases in the courts (Mumtaz and Noshirwani 2006).

The global gender gap ranking of Pakistan is 132 out of 134 countries (Zakar et al. 2013). Although women comprise 49.1% of the total population of Pakistan, gender inequalities and discrimination against women are rampant and persist in all domains of life. Most women are employed in the agricultural sector (out of the total 45% of the population employed in agriculture, 73% are women (Sarwar and Abbasi 2013). Chapter Two explained that patriarchy flourishes through controlling women's sexuality, fertility, labour and through male hegemony over economic resources (Isran and Isran 2012). Thus, with the existence of wider socio-economic and gender

disparities, women suffer from oppression, seclusion, social exclusion and extreme poverty (UNICEF 2006; Raza and Murad 2010).

Figure 4.1 is an overview of the gender order in Pakistan.



(Adapted from Connell 1987; 2002; 2009)

It is characterised by male dominance, women's subordination and seclusion, kinship and the patrilocal/patrilineal family system. However, within this broad gender order, many regimes operate within the spheres of production, power, emotional and symbolic relations. These regimes intersect to hinder the development of women through a range of complex economic, social and cultural practices. These include the sexual division of labour, son preference, marriage and sexuality, domestic violence, low levels of female labour force participation and repressive policies of the state

against women's agency or political activism. The relations between these gender regimes may be complementary, additive or conflictual.

Connell (1987) discussed the concept of gender regimes in respect of one institution at a time such as family, state or the street⁸⁹. These institutions perform a crucial role in defining and influencing gender roles and relations. Although they are not necessarily good or bad in themselves, discriminatory social practices and institutional gender relations restrict or exclude women and girls directly or indirectly, consequently hindering their access to opportunities, resources and power (Jütting and Morrison, 2005; Cerise and Francavilla 2012). For example, they prevent women from owning property or restrict their ability to move freely in public, directly influencing their economic and social roles. The social norm of ascribing greater value to sons over daughters is an example of indirect influence that results in underinvestment in the health and education of girls (Cerise and Francavilla 2012).

The next section discusses the gender regimes/institutions of the state, religion, health, labour market and family, where women's disadvantages take diverse forms.

4.2. Gender regimes in Pakistan

4.2.1. The State

Connell (1987) argues that it can hardly be denied that the state is deeply implicated in the social relations of gender as the state engages in considerable ideological activity on gender issues. Many social theorists have categorized the state as a patriarchal institution⁹⁰. The state institutionalizes hegemonic masculinity and uses great energy in controlling it. For instance, the state activity ranges from birth control in India and

⁸⁹ Kabeer (2003) discussed states, market, civil society/ community and kinship/ family; Ogle and Batton (2009) identified family, religion, education, economy and state/government as the main institutions and Walby (2013) discussed the gender regimes of economy, polity, violence and civil society.

⁹⁰ For instance, David Fernbach (cited in Connell 1987) suggested that the state was historically created as the institutionalization of masculine violence; Catherine Mackinnon (cited in *ibid.*) looked at the legal 'objectivity' of state, as the institutionalization of a male point of view, and analysed how it impinges on sexual politics such as the management of cases of rape and; Zillah Eisenstein's (cited in *ibid.*) dual systems model which sees the central state as an agent in sexual politics at the same time as class politics (Connell 1987).

China, through the re-imposition of the *chador* on women in Iran [and Pakistan]. This implies that there is a very active gender process in the state repression, which in other words is a politics of masculinity. On the other hand, the patriarchal state also finds itself funding feminism, across a considerable spectrum. This may range, for instance, from establishing rape crisis centres through women's units in the bureaucracy to grants for feminist and academic research (ibid.). Such type of incoherence (or contradiction) is visible in the gender regime of the state of Pakistan which is discussed along these two dimensions i.e. the relation of the state with feminist activism as well as its policies for the development of women.

In Pakistan, the paucity of academic research has confined the debate on women's activism to the limited circles of female activists and civil society organisations⁹¹. Shaheed (2010) argued that the deliberately promoted myth about the non-existence of feminism in Pakistan needed to be challenged. While a few women identify themselves as feminists (otherwise portrayed as anti-male women), these are mostly women from privileged backgrounds (based on their class, urban location and education), who are associated with leftist movements and activism for women's rights. However, not only the number of such women is increasing but there is also a rise of renewed feminism in Pakistan, with nuances of Islamic feminism⁹² (Zia 2009).

Before the establishment of Pakistan, Muslim women in the Indian sub-continent fought for their rights less on an exclusive feminist platform and more in the area of general politics as a part of the nationalist movement (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987).

⁹¹ The more commonly used terms for feminism in South Asia is the women's question or the women's movement, showing the selective use of the term feminism (Niranjana 2008). In Pakistan, the absence of vernacular terms for *feminism* has favoured the opponents of women's rights: "feminism is a North American and European agenda ... and its local westernized proponents are, at best, out of touch with the grounded reality of local women and unrepresentative of their needs and, at worst, agents of Western imperialist agendas" (Shaheed 2010: 94).

⁹² This new feminism is rooted in Islamic discourse, as it is non-confrontational, privatised and personalised, with the objective of empowering women within Islam. It resulted from the unresolved debates regarding religious issues and their accommodation within the secular feminist movement, which in many ways redefined the feminist agenda, and has produced a new generation of Islamic feminists who aspire to rationalise women's rights within religious frameworks (Zia 2009). See Dr Farhat Hashmi's Al-Huda International Welfare Foundation founded in 1994 in Pakistan, which aims to enlighten women with the knowledge of the Qur'an, and Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) through diverse social welfare programmes (<http://www.alhudapk.com/>).

The early years (from 1947, when Pakistan came into being, to 1958) saw women directing their energies towards relief work and social welfare particularly addressing the refugee problem. The Women's Voluntary Service (WVS), established in 1948 by Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan (the wife of Pakistan's first prime minister), was welcomed. However, her other initiatives, such as Pakistan Women's National Guard and Pakistan Women's Naval Reserve, were not well received and created public controversy. The first initiative, based on women's social welfare work (which was unpaid), was viewed as an extension of their domestic roles while the latter two, (which were paid and aimed at teaching women the manly skills such as using guns, first aid, signalling etc.), represented a threat to male ego and male/female role dichotomy (ibid.). The WVS became the precursor of the first fully-fledged women's organization in Pakistan i.e. All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA), again founded by Begum Ra'ana in 1949. It received full government support, which led to its rapid expansion⁹³. Its most visible activities included opening of schools and colleges, industrial homes and outlets and the periodical fund-raising fairs (*meena bazars*). APWA also worked for women's legal and political rights such as pushing for the Family Laws Commission, which prepared the draft of the Family Laws Ordinance of 1961, and recommending the reservation of ten women's seats in the National and Provincial Assemblies⁹⁴. Despite receiving government support, APWA remained disapproved of by the religious and reactionary elements (*the maulvis* within the legislature and in the public). The women of the organization who did not wear veil were called 'prostitutes' promoting women's freedom (*azadi or waywardness*) by the Majlis-e-Ahrar, Jamaat-e-Islami and Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam (the extreme right-wing orthodox parties) (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987). The period from 1947 to 1958 is marked by a minimum of legislative steps to acknowledge women's rights and give them equality of opportunity. The very first initiative was the *Muslim Personal Law of Sharia*, approved in 1948 and effective from 1951. This recognised women's rights

⁹³ In each province, the governor was the patron of the organization and the wife of the civil administrator was the honorary chief of APWA's local wing who facilitated bureaucratic processes in the pursuit of organization's objectives (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987).

⁹⁴ Two prominent women who fought for women's political rights in the National Assembly were Begum Jahanara Shah Nawaz and Begum Shaista Ikramullah.

to inherit all forms of property including agricultural land (Lewis 2001). During 1956-1958, no intervention for women's development was noted (Saigol 2016).

During the military rule of General Ayub Khan (1958-69), in 1961, the *Muslim Family Laws Ordinance* was promulgated, covering marriage, divorce and custody of children (an important socio-legal reform that empowered women) (Lewis 2001; for a detailed discussion about the Ordinance see Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987). This achievement was made possible because the military dictatorship "defined itself as benevolent, moderate and modern" (Saigol 2016: 11). However, the Ordinance was rejected by the religious scholars (the *ulema*) as un-Islamic and in practice, its application remained limited. Although the Ordinance was promulgated under Ayub Khan's liberalization, no significant attempt was made to bring women in the decision-making process. The number of seats reserved for women in the legislature remained limited and a few women were taken into ministries (only six women representatives). The most important event during Ayub Khan's period was the candidature of Fatima Jinnah (sister of Muhammad Ali Jinnah- the founder of Pakistan) for the presidential elections of 1965 (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987). While Ayub denounced her candidature and elicited many *fatwas* (religious edicts) that a woman cannot be the head of the state in Islam, the right-wing religious parties (who formed an alliance against Ayub and who opposed the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance), compromised their stance on political grounds⁹⁵. Ayub Khan's period was not remarkable for proliferation of women's organizations (ibid.).

The Pakistan Peoples Party's (PPP) government (1971-1977), formed after Pakistan's first general elections in 1970 and led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, was regarded as more women friendly⁹⁶ (Saigol 2016). In 1973, ten seats in the National Assembly and 5%

⁹⁵ For instance, the Combined Opposition Parties (COP), the right-wing religious parties including Maulana Maududi of Jamaat-e-Islami had to justify their stance by stating that a woman can be the head of a state in "extraordinary circumstance" (Mumtaz and Shahedd 1987: 60).

⁹⁶ The PPP manifesto promised women equal rights with men (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987). In 1972, a constitution-making committee was formed, having two women members (Nasim Jahan and Ashraf Abbasi). The 1973 Constitution gave more rights to women. For instance, Article 25 declared that every citizen was equal before law; Article 25 (2) ended discrimination based on sex; Article 27 ended discrimination on the basis of race, religion, caste or sex for civil service appointment in Pakistan; Article 32 guaranteed reservation of seats for women; Article 35 stated that the state shall protect marriage, family and mother and child and Article 228 added the principle of at least one woman member on the Council on Islamic Ideology (Saigol 2016).

of seats in Provincial Assemblies were reserved for women under the constitution of 1973. Moreover, all government services (including District Management Group and Foreign Service) were opened for women through administrative reforms of 1972 (Tariq 2005). In 1975, the declaration of Women's Decade by the UN led Pakistan to establish the first Women's Rights Committee in 1976 having nine women members. The committee gave its recommendations the next year regarding legal and structural reforms to improve women's status. However, its report was neither ratified by the Assembly nor made public (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987). In 1976, Dowry and Bridal Gifts (Restriction) Act was passed to limit marriage and dowry expenses (Tariq 2005). Many other steps were taken by the Bhutto government to raise the status of women in Pakistan. These include setting up a women's cell in the Manpower Division, appointing Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan as the first female Governor of Sindh province, Kaniz Fatima as vice-chancellor of a university and Ashraf Abbasi as the first elected female Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987). During the Bhutto period, the existing women's organizations flourished and many new emerged. For instance, APWA with its changed shift from social work to women's participation in development, secured full support of the government. Whereas, United Front for Women's rights, *Aurat* and *Shirkat Gah* (Women's Resource Center) emerged as organizations having feminist consciousness (see Mumtaz and Shaheed (1987) for a detailed account of these organizations).

General Zia-ul-Haq (1977-1988), during his military dictatorship, announced his intention to Islamize the penal code of Pakistan by co-opting right wing religious parties in his cabinet. During this time, women's movement opposed state repression directly and its task of Islamising national institutions. The slogan of feminists was "men, money, mullah and military" (Zia 2009: 30). The 1980s activism was characterised by the curtailing of rights, awarding of barbaric punishments, and religious rhetoric used to stifle democratic voices and any form of dissent. Women and minorities particularly suffered and "concerted efforts sought to push women back within the strict confines of 'home and hearth' or *chadar aur chardiwari* (veil and the four walls of a homestead), rescind their rights, and curtail their liberties" (Shaheed 2010: 97). Most activists criticised the nature of women's oppression resulting from

Islamic forms of patriarchy (Mahmood 2005 cited in Zia 2009). The Hudood Laws promulgated by the military regime in 1979, covering new provisions about rape, abduction and criminalising all forms of consensual sex outside marriage, gave an impetus to women's activism (Zia 2009). The military regime's so-called Islamisation process led *Shirkat Gah* to call meetings of various women and the formation of the *Khawateen-Mahaz-e-Amal* or Women's Action Forum (WAF) to oppose the agenda of military dictatorship. During this phase, the women's movement remained focused on the state apparatus, encountering its proposals to dismantle women's legal rights and to minimise their presence in public. This activism was reactive in nature in resisting the encroachment of personal freedom and rights (Shaheed 2010).

On the other hand, during the period of General Zia-ul-Haq, in 1979, a Women's Division was established within the Cabinet Secretariat as a special organ of the Federal Government, and Women's Development Cells were constituted in provincial Planning and Development departments (Tariq 2005). The aim of the Women's Division was to improve the quality of women's life, particularly in rural areas, and to tackle problems peculiar to women, especially working women (ADB 2005). It devised policies and programmes that accepted women as a human capital resource and identified their needs in previously neglected economic areas such as agriculture, science and technology, skills development, technical education and employment (the domains of men). The government also adopted a development strategy comprising national plans of action (Five Year Plans); however, the focus on women was from a social welfare point of view⁹⁷ (ibid.). Different working groups were constituted to submit recommendations in this regard. In addition, women's productive roles in the agricultural and informal sectors were increasingly recognised and their integration into national development was officially endorsed (ADB 2005). In 1988, the

⁹⁷ This approach viewed women as a vulnerable segment of the population, with welfare policies designed for them. To make women productive members of society, a conceptual shift emerged in the sixth Five Year Plan of 1983, in which women were considered as an active agent in the process of development. In the sixth Plan, for the first time, a chapter on Women in Development was included by the Planning Commission (Tariq 2005; ADB 2005), and the Pakistan Commission on the Status of Women was established in 1983. The number of reserved seats for women in the Parliament doubled from 10 to 20 in 1984 (Tariq 2005). The seventh, eighth and ninth Five Year Plans made further efforts to include a women's agenda in the development process. In the seventh Plan, priority was given to education, employment, health, cooperatives, legal aid and community development programmes (MoWD 1992).

government endorsed the National Plan of Action (NPA) but only in the areas of education and health. Saigol (2016) argues that no major measures were taken for women's advancement except through paying lip service.

During Benazir Bhutto's tenure (1988-1996), women's activism shifted from the streets to courts and other institutions as the activists lobbied effectively for legislative change and improved policies. The liberal leadership of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto during her two terms (1988-1990; 1993-1996) and her pro-women agenda gave momentum to women's movements. During this time, many NGOs engaged with her government in a more meaningful manner (with the state being less threatening), found increased space for negotiations and shifted their efforts to infiltrate government policy (Zia 2009). This led to the first government and non-government partnership to prepare for the United Nations Fourth Women's Conference in 1995, proposing several measures in the National Plan of Action for Women⁹⁸. The divergent nature of activism during this phase covered two issues: political representation and violence against women. The WAF made all the grass root effort and remained the vanguard in articulating collective demands in collaboration with other civil society organisations⁹⁹.

The public activism regarding violence against women largely remains unpublicised in Pakistan. However, women activists worked effortlessly to expand understanding of domestic violence (beyond spousal violence). They actively investigated cases through the media, visited jails and hospitals and took up individual cases brought to them by women or their supporters. The WAF organised seminars on crimes against women and issued newsletters. The protest was registered through pamphlets, press conferences and press releases and an intensive campaign was organised about women injured and murdered at home through burning. During this phase of activism, the demand for legislation on domestic violence was articulated (Shaheed 2010; Khan 2012).

⁹⁸ National Plan of Action for Women became the domestic policy of Pakistan to implement the Beijing Platform for Action.

⁹⁹ For instance, Shirkat Gah, Aurat Publication and the Information Services Foundation.

After 1990, women's organisations as well as individuals working as gender experts in development forums used their institutional bases to raise awareness about domestic violence. Many women's and rights-oriented groups, even in remote areas, took up this issue, e.g. research done by *Sangtani* in South Punjab about honour killings. Some took up cases of forcible marriage and failure of the police to register rape cases (see *Behbud-e-Niswan Network*¹⁰⁰). Hina Jilani, an internationally renowned lawyer and human rights activist, dissatisfied with the government-run shelters, set up the first autonomous women's shelter. Consistent efforts led to the Domestic Violence Bill, passed by the national assembly in 2009, which became an Act in 2012 (Shaheed 2010; Khan 2012). In 2001, six organizations (Mehergarh, Action AID, Bedari, Interactive Resource Centre, Hawwa Associates, and Pakistan Institute of Labour Education and Research) had formed an alliance against sexual harassment in the workplace known as AASHA. Dr. Fouzia Saeed, on behalf of AASHA, proposed to the government a draft anti-sexual harassment policy for workplaces. After many deliberations, consultations with different stakeholders and the lobbying efforts of AASHA, the Senate (AASHA 2016) passed the Protection against Harassment of Women at Workplace Act 2010 (Saigol 2016).

During Benazir Bhutto's two open and liberal tenures (1988-1990 and 1993-1996), many women-friendly measures were introduced. For instance, the establishment of Women's Studies Centres in various public-sector universities, the establishment of First Women Bank in 1989 to provide loans to women entrepreneurs on easy terms, and the establishment of separate women's police stations in 1994 (Saigol 2016). In 1989, the Women's Division was upgraded into a fully-fledged Ministry of Women's Development which undertook many programmes in different sectors like education, health, industry, agriculture and banking. Moreover, the Cabinet decided to reserve a 5% quota for women in government services (ADB 2005). Two export trade houses for women entrepreneurs were also established. The former Women's Development Cells within the provincial Planning Commission departments were replaced by Monitoring and Evaluation Cells. This aimed to identify bottlenecks and to suggest

¹⁰⁰ The Women's Welfare Network is an urban organisation in the Faisalabad district of Punjab that works against gender-based violence in the community.

recommendations for the effective implementation of development projects for women (Tariq 2005; ADB 2005).

After 1989, the Ministry of Women's Development undertook several initiatives for women in different sectors. In 1990, it held a national conference on policy recommendation for women's development. In 1994, the National Inquiry Commission on the Status of Women was established (Saigol 2016). Women's Police Stations were set up in the country and women's share of senior official positions increased. Provincial Development Cells were replaced with fully-fledged Provincial Women's Development Departments. In 1992/93, a Social Action Programme was launched that focused on women by reducing gender disparities and improving women's access to social services (MoWD 1992). In 1995, an Ordinance was passed that reserved one-third of the seats in all local councils for women. As a follow-up to the Beijing Conference in 1995, a National Plan of Action (NPA) was finalised (Saigol 2016).

During Nawaz Sharif's neoliberal tenures (1990-1993 and 1997-1999), the dominance of the religious right and a renewed stress on General Zia's unfinished agenda of Islamisation was discernible. The NPA was officially launched in 1998 to implement the CEDAW¹⁰¹. National, Provincial and District Core Groups were formed to monitor the implementation of the NPA¹⁰². In 1997, Parliament passed a law which made the death penalty mandatory for the offence of gang rape and the National Inquiry Commission on the Status of Women recommended repeal of discriminatory laws against women. In 1998, the first all-women University¹⁰³ was established. During Nawaz Sharif's second tenure (1997-1999), women's groups faced growing political conservatism and religious revivalism. For example, in 1997 the Council of Islamic Ideology recommended the obligatory wearing of the *hijab* (veil) (Rashid 2006 cited

¹⁰¹ Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women

¹⁰² While the activists duly contributed to the National Plan of Action for Women, there was no visible impact of the new guidelines. It remained on the shelves of bureaucratic offices, and activists realised that far greater effort would be required for effective implementation. This is seen in Shaheed's argument, that "to move from policy statement to actual implementation, recommendations need to be grounded in bureaucratic reality rather than activist idealism" (2010: 105).

¹⁰³ Fatima Jinnah University Islamabad

in Zia 2009). Many cultural activities, such as dance performances, were banned in girls' schools and colleges. There was increasing hostility toward feminist activists who were accused of spreading immorality and vulgarity in the name of human rights (Zia 2009).

The "liberal" government of General Musharraf (1999-2008) took the credit of introducing the 33% quota for women parliamentarians in 2002. The intensive lobbying by women activists within the country and the subsequent endorsement by the United Nations for one-third female representation in political decision making led the government to introduce a women's quota in the local government system, national and provincial assemblies and in the Senate (Shaheed 2010). However, this period was also marked with direct confrontation between the state and activists (for example, the Jamia Hafsa case 2007¹⁰⁴), many of whom now resorted to Islamic feminism. During this period, the opposition parties remained involved in anti-women activities, such as proposing a Prohibition of Indecent Advertisements Bill 2005 (Zia 2009).

In 2000, women were given 33% participation in Local Government Elections under the devolution plan of Pakistan and 17.5% in provincial and national assemblies. In the same year, a National Commission on the Status of Women was constituted (Saigol 2016). In 2002, the Gender Reform Action Plan (GRAP) was launched. This was a coherent gender reform agenda to enable governments to implement national and international promises on gender equality. This plan achieved a number of major gender equality goals. These include setting up a Provincial Gender Mainstreaming Committee in Punjab, amendments to the Rules of Business for Women's Development Departments and their restructuring, Career Development Centres in universities, establishment of Gender Mainstreaming Units in eight departments of the Punjab Secretariat, and campaigns in the electronic and print media to create awareness about women's rights. In 2006, the Women's Protection Act was passed. In Pakistan's criminal procedure, the crime of rape was taken out of *hadd* (fixed and maximum punishment such as stoning to death or public whipping) and placed in

¹⁰⁴ Jamia Hafsa is a religious *madrasah* in Lal Masjid in Islamabad. The students raided a house and kidnapped some persons on charges of running a brothel against which action was taken by Musharraf's government. The incident occurred amid concerns over the increasing Talibanisation of parts of Pakistan (BBC, 29th March 2007).

taazir (discretionary punishment such as imprisonment for ten years), thus ending the conflation of rape and adultery. According to this act, rape would be investigated in the manner of other countries (Saigol 2016).

The liberal-secular alliance (2008-2013) formed by the PPP with Awami National Party (ANP) and the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM), followed a policy of appeasing the religious right at the cost of women's rights. For instance, the *Nizam-e-Adl* agreement with Sufi Muhammad of the Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Muhammadi in 2009¹⁰⁵, appointing Maulana Muhammad Khan Shirani of JUI (F) as Head of the Council for Islamic Ideology who opposed the Domestic Violence Bill, signing deals with religious and right-wing parties to curtail women's voting rights and political participation at the Union Council level (Saigol 2016). Despite being secular and liberal, the PPP alliance had an ambivalent relationship with the women's movement. For instance, some members of parliament gave contradictory statements regarding women's rights¹⁰⁶ (ibid.). Conversely, the National Assembly passed the Domestic Violence Bill in 2009. In 2010, a law against sexual harassment in the workplace was passed due to a long-standing demand of women activists (see AASHA- Alliance against Sexual Harassment). In 2012, the domestic violence bill passed in 2009 became applicable only to Islamabad (the capital of Pakistan), although it could serve as a model for the provinces to legislate on women's issues. In 2010, the Ministry of Women's Development at the federal level was devolved to the provinces where Women's Development Departments were established (ibid.).

The absence of a vibrant, coherent and forceful women's movement of the kind observed in the 1980s has been noted during Nawaz Sharif's last tenure (2013-2017). Scattered groups took up specific issues on the streets of different cities (Saigol 2016). No significant legislation or measure for women's rights was noted during Nawaz

¹⁰⁵ This left women at the mercy of the Taliban in KPK province and resulted in public flogging of women on charges of illicit relationships, kidnapping/widowing women, shooting girl students and destroying girls' schools (Saigol 2016)

¹⁰⁶ For example, Israrullah Zehri (Minister for Postal Affairs in Balochistan) defended the burial alive of five women on the pretext that the practice corresponded to Balochi tradition and culture. While explaining the severity of daily target killings in Karachi, Rehman Malik (the Interior Minister) said that only 30% were victims of target killings as wives and girlfriends did 70% of the killings (Saigol 2016).

Sharif's government (2013-2017). The Women's Caucus in parliament remained dormant. The National Commission on the Status of Women suggested various measures¹⁰⁷. However, implementation of these suggestions remains to be seen (Saigol 2016).

The above discussion shows that gender relations in gender regime of the state of Pakistan show variations; at some point of time, these were complementary such as Benazir Bhutto's tenures and at other time, these were conflictual such as during Zia's tenure (see Chapter Two for a discussion of gender relations in a gender regime).

4.2.2. Religion

Many religions hold creation beliefs in which woman is perceived as a secondary creation, out of a male body¹⁰⁸ (Jain 2011) and thus subservient to man; she is represented as bad and morally corrupt if she does not conform to traditional gender roles (Ogle and Batton 2009). In conservative families, strict roles for women and men along traditional lines are defined and endorsed in the name of religion. People that are more religious may be more patriarchal (Hunnicut 2009). Traditional religious beliefs perpetuate the images of women as unequal to men; home is considered the women's sphere and *purdah* (seclusion of women) is strictly observed in many Islamic countries (Peterson and Runyan 1999). Women's chastity, virginity and fidelity are upheld through violence to produce docile creatures (Jain 2011). Pakistani husbands are considered to be the religious incarnation of a god (*Majazi Khuda*) with the right to beat their wives if they do not obey all their commands. Such misinterpretation of Islamic values encourages women's subordination. Women themselves accept these given conditions; from childhood, they are indoctrinated to believe that it is the husband's right to beat them (Patel 2003). Male superiority and the concept of the ideal wife (as submissive and sacrificing) are deeply embedded in the minds of

¹⁰⁷ For instance, withdrawal of proposed amendments to the law regarding sexual harassment in the workplace, review of the Qisas and Diyat law to protect women from being murdered in the name of honour, review of the anti-rape bill and the Juvenile Justice System Bill 2015, recommendations to the Election Commission of Pakistan to ensure that women are not prevented from voting, recommendation to ban illegal *jirgas*

¹⁰⁸ The story in Genesis, common to Judaism, Islam and Christianity, is of Eve eating forbidden fruit and bringing misery to mankind (Jain 2011).

Pakistani men, creating a space for controlling women through coercive measures (Zakar et al. 2013).

The entanglement of patriarchy with religion through rituals and rules of pollution and purity gives male domination a firm social footing (Therborn 2004). In Pakistan, the ideology of honour (*izzat*) is of paramount importance and women are considered the repositories of their family's honour; their chastity is highly valued and guarded (Shaheed 1990). It is "perceived culturally to be an inherent condition of her being, namely her purity and chastity. *Honour*, symbolized in the female body and reduced to women's sexual purity, is perceived as natural foundation for social and moral order" (Haeri, 2002:36 cited in Mirza 2013). It can also be used as an excuse to control women's space and movement, to ensure their pre-marital chastity and post-marital fidelity and resultantly debar them from full socio-economic and political life (Khan 1999 cited in Mirza 2013). In Pakistan, such cultural practices grounded in religious rhetoric can make access to school harder for girls as the demand for single-sex schools can raise the cost of schooling, thus reducing their quality and slowing the process of universal education (Lewis and Lockheed 2007).

Bradley and Saigol (2012) investigated whether and how Muslim values and beliefs influence attitudes to girls' education, particularly exploring the role of *madrassas* in this context. Islamic values and beliefs are widely considered incompatible with female education, which is manifest in the spate of attacks and bombings on girls' schools in KPK province (Swat and Malakand Division), the shooting of girl students such as Malala Yusefzai, and the banning of female education by the militants (King and Winthrop 2015). Many religious leaders in Pakistan view secular education as a dangerous western import likely to pollute the nation's women by giving them ideas and ways of living that conflict with Islam¹⁰⁹. In recent years, Islamic organisations used *madrassas* to expand and provide mainstream and religious education. Although these represent a small section of the education sector (around 95% of children in

¹⁰⁹ Since colonial times, Pakistan has faced tension between the provision of modern secular education for girls through mass schooling and the eagerness of religious communities to maintain control over women (who are considered the symbols of inter-generational transmission of religious values and beliefs) (Bradley and Saigol 2012).

primary and secondary education are enrolled in state schools), many illiterate and indigent people continue to perceive *madrassa* education as an alternative to formal schooling (Schmidt 2008; Bradley and Saigol 2012). For many children from impoverished backgrounds, such schools are not only cheaper, but the children are also fed and housed there. It is argued that such children are not prepared for the modern workforce or to become citizens of a peaceful social order (Schmidt 2008).

The curriculum for girls' education of the largest *madrassa* education board, the *Wafaq-ul-Madaris-Deobandi* (representing 75% of the *madrassas* and nearly 90% of all their students), is regulated by the management of girls' *madrassas* and has been designed to create docile, subservient, and domesticated women (Farooq n.d. cited in Schmidt 2008). The *Dars-e-Nizami* curriculum, which is followed by another *madrassa* education board, revolves around the ideas of preparing women for homemaking, wifehood, obedience and subservience to male dominance. Most of the *madrassa* leaders and managers are men, so the aim of teaching and training is to inculcate *aadab* (the etiquette or specific manners required of a good Muslim woman). Such a curriculum emphasises patriarchal beliefs favouring a household and mothering education for women along with religious values, thus strengthening the sexual division of labour and entrenching the subordinate status of women through such schooling (ibid.).

4.2.3. Health

Improved women's health is positively linked to the wellbeing of their children and the wider family's health, education and livelihood, society's health and the national economy¹¹⁰ (Rizvi et al. 2013; Qadir et al. 2013). In Pakistan, girls are conditioned to be embarrassed about and ashamed of their sexual feelings. Knowledge regarding sexual and reproductive organs is deemed to contribute to develop illegitimate relationships, so girls are discouraged to access such information. Moreover, lack of guidance from parents as well as knowledge about puberty, especially the menarche,

¹¹⁰ The current Sustainable Development Goal 3 is about good health and wellbeing with a target that by 2030 universal access to sexual and reproductive healthcare services is ensured, including for family planning, information and education, and the integration of reproductive health into national strategies and programmes.

makes girls ashamed of physical changes. Lack of knowledge about sexual harassment and exposure to such abuse leads to frustration, anxiety, stress and depression (Rizvi et al. 2014). In the absence of sexual awareness, the reproductive rights of women are hardly discussed. The right to decide about bearing a child, the number of children, the right to space them, access to health services and protection from sexually transmitted diseases are denied to most women, particularly those who are poor and uneducated (Patel 2003). Pakistani men consider it their right to control the sexuality of women as well as reproductive decisions (Zakar et al. 2013). Pakistani women, therefore, experience restraints on their ability to act independently within households, such as autonomy in their reproductive health and independent travel for healthcare (Mumtaz and Salway 2009).

The status of Pakistani women is influenced by gender norms which make the relationship of gender and health more complex, with repercussions not only on women's health (especially reproductive) but also on their lives in general (Rizvi et al. 2013). Several factors contribute to this, for instance, lack of awareness about women's health requirements, illiteracy and/or low literacy level, socio-cultural constraints on females, intra-household bias in food distribution, early marriage of girls, excessive childbearing and lack of control over their own bodies (Toquir et al. 2010; Rizvi et al. 2013; Aslam et al. 2016). An estimated 42% of girls become pregnant before they are 20. The nexus of early marriage and pregnancy is a high-risk factor for poor health outcomes, leading to anaemia, hypertension, and premature and low-weight infants. The intra-household bias in food distribution leads to a higher rate of osteoporosis in Pakistani women than men of same age (Nasrullah and Bhatti 2012). It also leads to a female population that is anaemic (more than 40% of the total female population) and a high maternal mortality rate (MMR)¹¹¹ (only 20% of women are assisted by a trained provider during childbirth). Due to male domination in sexual relations, lack of access to information and knowledge about contraceptives, women in rural areas are at high risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases like HIV-AIDS (Toquir et al. 2010). This situation is complemented with an inadequate health service delivery, lack of female doctors and a large number of female quacks. Since

¹¹¹ The MMR in rural Balochistan is 800 per 100,000 live births (Toquir et al. 2010). Gender preference is evident in the ratio of males to females: for every 100 males, there are 81 females (Nasrullah and Bhatti 2012).

women generally do not wish to be examined by male doctors, the situation is at its worst in rural areas where female doctors are neither easily available nor affordable (ibid.). Several factors lead to excessive female morbidity and mortality, including malnourishment after marriage, violence (such as slapping, abusing, burning, taunting, threat of divorce, rape, incest), high fertility (repeated pregnancies in some cases to get a male child), low contraceptive use, abortion (in the case of a female foetus) and neglect or mistreatment during pregnancy. Women often delay in seeking timely healthcare in matters as discussion about sex and sexual organs is considered a taboo (Nasrulah and Bhatti 2012; Rizvi et al. 2013).

The field of women's mental health remains under-researched in Pakistan (Nasrullah and Bhatti 2012; Qadir et al. 2013). Post-marital depression and anxiety are common and disabling conditions that women experience more than men. Marital relationship and adjustment issues with the husband and in-laws have been associated with dissatisfaction from marriage, attempted suicide and mental disorders amongst married women (Qadir et al. 2013). Even the impact of natural disasters, such as floods and earthquakes, on the psychological health of skilled women and their motivation and commitment towards life has been noted (Abbasi et al. 2013).

4.2.4. Labour market

Apart from economic wellbeing, paid work may bring other benefits, for instance, increasing women's decision-making and bargaining power in the household, participation in the reproductive decisions (use of contraceptives, number and spacing of children, etc.) or a greater say in household expenditure (Fatima 2014). The *Labour Force Survey 2014-15* showed the overall Female Labour Force Participation (FLFP) to be low: 15.8% as compared to 48.1% for males. A total of 54.5% of the recorded female labour force was "contributing family workers" or unpaid family labour. Table 4.1 shows FLFP in the rural/urban areas and in different sectors as compared to men.

Table 4.1. Female Labour Force Participation as compared with Men

Area/ Sector		Female Labour Force Participation %	Male Labour Force Participation %
Rural (agriculture)		20.2%	47.4%
Urban		7.5%	49.4%
Industrial	Manufacturing	14.1%	15.7%
	Construction	1.2%	9.5%
	Wholesale and Retail	1.4%	18.7%
	Transport/storage and communication	0.1%	7.0%
	Community/social and personal services	11.3%	13.7%
	Others	0.2%	2.3%

Source: *Labour Force Survey 2014-15* (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics 2016)

The proportion of women in the informal sector¹¹² was 73.5% (72.5% for men). Women worked a mean of 35.3 hours in a week and men 51.1.

The formal labour market is overwhelmingly represented by men as being more skilled and educated, and more noticeably by graduates of private or vocational educational institutions. Women remain unable to compete with men due to lower educational outcomes and being driven into the informal and semi-skilled labour market that is characterised by lower wages and exploitation by intermediaries and employers (Isran and Isran 2012). Most women are employed in the agricultural sector (73%) and only 27% in non-agricultural sectors¹¹³. There are persistent differences in wages; the jobs available to women pay low wages, thus women earn less than men. Wage

¹¹² Some of the informal occupations include wholesale and retail trade, manufacturing, construction, community, social & personal services and transport. The 'other' category includes mining & quarrying; electricity, gas & water, finance, insurance, real estate & business services.

¹¹³ For instance, legislator and managerial levels (1.7%), professionals (1.18%), technical and associate professionals (7.22%), clerks (0.13%), service workers and sales force (0.45%), craft and trade workers (11.66%), unskilled occupations (16.76%), construction (0.21%), wholesale and retail (0.76%), hotels and restaurants (0.06%), education (1.3%), health and social work (0.23%), transport and financial intermediation (0.04%) and private households (0.56%) (Sarwar and Abbasi 2013).

discrimination is related to the differences in skills and experience. The occupational segregation of women is further combined with low demand in occupations considered suitable for women (Tanaka and Muzones 2016). Cheema et al. (2012) found that a large percentage of firms do not hire women at all, consistent with the socio-cultural and gender norms regarding the type of work considered appropriate for women. The costs perceived by employers of having women in the workplace, such as ensuring their safety, also contribute towards this.

The FLFP rate in Pakistan remains low at all levels of education and falls sharply as the educational attainment level rises to Grade 10. This indicates that those women with no or only a basic education work for economic reasons, such as poverty, whereas 75% of the female population with a degree does not constitute part of the labour force (Sadaquat and Sheikh 2011). This latter represents a major loss of potential productivity, with implications for women's empowerment (Tanaka and Muzones 2016). The economic returns from female education are extremely low for the primary and middle levels of schooling and higher for the upper levels. A significant increase in women's wages is discernible only in those who completed the very last stages of secondary and tertiary education (Tanaka and Muzones 2016).

There are many factors that restrict women's access to the labour market: gender role ideologies, socio-cultural restrictions on their mobility, lack of education, marital status, segregated labour markets and employers' gender biases against female labour (Fatima and Sultana 2009; Hussain et al. 2012). In the closely-knit family system, women face the direct disapproval of either senior family members or their husbands (Raza 2007). Most people in Pakistan agree that if jobs are scarce, employers should favour men who are the main breadwinners. Beyond a simple preference for men's access to paid work, women's work is generally stigmatised. In many social contexts, working women are not considered respectable (Grünenfelder 2013; World Bank 2006 cited in Tanaka and Muzones 2016). Thus, gender norms play their role in restricting FLFP in Pakistan, either by keeping women at home entirely, or by confining them to certain acceptable occupations.

Other factors include safety and crime issues and the quality of available transport services. Sometimes women themselves do not want to work outside the home or are

willing to work only within their own homes. Women who work often do not travel as far to their workplace as men do (Tanaka and Muzones 2016), even if the work environment itself is considered safe and acceptable (Ali 2012); harassment of working women on public transport by male passengers, vehicle drivers or conductors is common (ADB 2014). As social taboos prevent women from riding bicycles or motorcycles by themselves, they are dependent on the men in the family to use these modes of transport. This limits their ability to leave home and move outside for work, or to attend the further education or vocational training which could lead to better work opportunities (Tanaka and Muzones 2016).

4.2.5. Family

The basic unit of the patriarchal system and the main site of oppression where women's inferior position is encouraged is the family (Millet 1970; Lerner 1986). The power structure of the family defines power as an influence in decision making (Connell 1987), which is exercised mainly by men in Pakistani families. A family is not an undifferentiated unit governed solely by altruism (Sen 1987; Elson 1995). Multiple actors make up a family, having conflicting interests, preferences and differential abilities. Labour and resource allocation decisions are made in the families along with consumption, production and investment (Agarwal 1997)¹¹⁴. There is a divergence between a person's actual contribution and the perceptions about a person's needs and abilities¹¹⁵. Intra-household allocation of resources and the bargaining power of family members is affected by such perceptions. The contributions of women and their needs may be systematically undervalued, reinforcing gender deprivations. Due to this undervaluation of contribution and needs, women and girls may receive fewer resources (Agarwal 1997). They lack social value

¹¹⁴ The unitary model of the family considers the household as a single entity in relation to both production and consumption. It assumes that all household resources and incomes are pooled, and are allocated by an altruistic household head. This head represents the household's preferences and strives to maximise household utility (Becker 1981 cited by Agarwal 1997).

¹¹⁵ The contributions of a person may be undervalued; for example, women's work may be labelled as unskilled and the perceptions about their contribution may depend on the visibility of work, for instance, women's household work is often invisible and less valued not only by family members but also by policy makers. The perceptions about needs may be different from the actual needs; for instance, women's needs are considered synonymous with family needs, while men's needs are considered separate and personal (Elson 1995).

and status because their roles as producers and providers are unacknowledged. The son preference (a result of their productive and supportive role) channels the household allocation of resources in their favour. For instance, men in the family are given better education while women are restricted to domestic skills to become good mothers and wives (ADB 2000). Patriarchal attitudes, ideas and values are practised, upheld and sustained in the family, not only at the level of inequitable resource allocation but also in the sexual/gender division of labour, son preference, marriage and dowry practices and domestic violence against women. These are discussed below.

Sexual/gender division of labour

Patriarchalism rests on the claim that women's natural role of child-bearing specifies their domestic and subordinate place in the order of things (Pateman 1988). The naturalisation of differences between men and women defines appropriate roles and behaviours for them, which are accepted and upheld by all social actors (Subrahmanian 2005). Feminine identity formation, which is considered inextricable from cultural expectations of women's role as mothers and wives, is internalised by women themselves (Peterson and Runyan 1999). This identity formation is defended as immutable, masked as culture and encrypted in institutions that govern daily life, thus creating deeper structural inequalities (Subrahmanian 2005). Women in Pakistan are expected to remain confined within the four walls of their homes, devoting their lives to the care of their families and performing culturally defined roles of wives and mothers. Most women work in their homes without any monetary recompense (Patel 2003), the unremunerated work in the form of a labour tax on women¹¹⁶ (Palmer 1992). Thus, home is considered a place where no work is done and where men relax after working outside. This perception is based on the functionalist perspective of expressive and instrumental roles of women and men respectively (Parsons 1955). Rosenberg (1990) classified women's work into three categories: housework, motherwork and wifework. Housework includes cleaning and maintaining the home,

¹¹⁶ Women's reproductive work is productive to the household economy by providing immediate use-value of goods and services. This means that it is productive to the household economy. Moreover, it is a tax in the sense that women supply a resource to the community free of charge, which is replacement for the present labour force (Palmer 1992).

purchasing and preparing food, doing laundry, providing services to children, the unemployed, sick and elderly. Motherwork includes feeding, clothing, nurturing and socialising a child until he/she becomes self-supporting. Wifework is the emotional work of listening, soothing, comforting and having sex with one man exclusively, and attending to the husband's needs before one's own (ibid.). In South Asian context (as well as in Pakistan), housework also includes fetching water and fuel, raising and feeding animals, taking care of in-laws and visiting relatives. Motherwork includes helping children with homework, training daughters for housework and looking after married daughters and their children. Wifework tends to restrain husbands from unsanctioned sexual activities and ensures giving birth to legitimate children (Chowdhery 2009). Where children are required for the present or future labour force, women's sexuality is driven towards reproduction and child-rearing (Coetzee 2001). Thus, the oppression of women takes place in the domestic modes of production where the work done by women in the households is appropriated by husbands (Hartmann 1979; Delphy 1984).

Ignoring women's unpaid domestic labour obscures not only the burden women endure but also the constraints this puts on women's opportunities for paid work. Women bear the brunt of the double day if they engage in paid labour (Elson 1995; Zakar et al. 2013). If women are over-burdened with the double day, the schooling of girls may suffer, as girls may have insufficient time for homework and even remain absent from school to look after younger siblings or do other household chores (Moser 1993).

Son preference

Son preference characterises much of South Asia (often measured in terms of missing women and fertility preferences), and leads to intra-household gender inequalities in food, health and education, as mentioned above (Agarwal 1988; Cerise and Francavilla 2012). Due to this gender bias, parents allocate a greater share of resources to boys, presuming them to be economically more productive as adults as compared to girls, who are given away in patrilocal marriages. The family also decides how many girls and how many boys will go to school to gain skills for the labour market (Lahiri and Self 2007). It is assumed that education brings higher incomes; boys'

income accrues to the family of origin while a daughter's returns no investment on her education as it goes to her future husband and his family. Therefore, more boys go to school than girls, who are considered economic liabilities (Agarwal 1988).

The patterns of the gender gap in Pakistan begin at home where boys are more valued and preferred over girls in all aspects of their upbringing (Malik and Courtney 2011). In a typical Pakistani household, a son is considered the custodian of family honour and protector of family interests, while a daughter is considered as a temporary visitor who belongs to another household (that of her future husband). Consequently, sons are provided with more resources in terms of nourishment, health and education as they are expected to provide for parents in their old age, while daughters are brought up to be married (Patel 2003; Fikree and Pasha 2004; Latif 2009). Women themselves consider sons as their critical resource and they manipulate their affection to ensure their sons' lifelong loyalty and to control their future daughters-in-law (Isran and Isran 2012). Marriage practices are one way of ensuring this, as detailed below.

Marriage

A strong sense of ownership and control over daughters prevails in Pakistani families. Before marriage, daughters obey their parents, mostly their fathers, and after marriage this obedience is directed towards their husband and in-laws, particularly to senior women in the husband's family (Patel 2003; Ali and Gavino 2008; Isran and Isran 2012). By anticipating inheriting the power of older women later in their life cycles, younger women internalise patriarchal thinking. This cyclical and generational nature of women's power reproduces and perpetuates their subordination through their own active collusion (Isran and Isran 2012).

Overall, marriage practices in Pakistan assign asymmetrical power relations (Critelli 2010 cited in Zakar et al. 2013). A male has more freedom of choice in marriage (in the sense of accepting or refusing a proposal) than a female, who often does not exercise her free consent and is more dependent upon the choice and decision of her parents (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987). Sometimes undue pressure is exerted on young women by parents and other family members to accept an unwanted union. Evidence shows that marrying without the consent of their family is often disapproved of and

can result in court cases (on the charges of fornication/adultery or women's abduction), as well as honour killings (Patel 2003).

In Pakistan, the family and society control the sexuality of women (Patel 2003). Their chastity is extremely important to family and clan honour and it is customary for families to marry girls at an early age (before the age of 16), considering them a liability; hence, a suitable match is found soon after they attain puberty (Patel 2003; Latif 2009). Moreover, to control their sexuality, restraints are applied on girls' physical activities/mobility during peak childbearing years (Hussain 2000 cited in Patel 2003). Such restraints are generally applied by men who are entrusted with safeguarding the family honour (in this case female honour, *izzat*) by controlling the bodies of women. When a woman's behaviour is seen to violate the patriarchal order, she is inflicted with "beatings, burnings, sexual abuse, and even murder in the name of honour" (Noor 2004: 15). Such controls are part of the wider societal mechanism since an unmarried girl in her father's house is to be passed to her husband's house as a virgin. Only marriage circumscribes women's sexuality, and nothing less is acceptable in Pakistani society.

The practice of endogamous and consanguineous marriages (close kinship unions and cousin marriages) is much preferred (Isran and Isran 2012). Such marriage practices reinforce the subjugation of women as their interests are further compromised¹¹⁷ (Patel 2003). In particular, to prevent the dispersal of land, feudal families arrange marriages of their daughters with paternal cousins (Ali and Gavino 2008). Sometimes these marriages are a complete mismatch, as when a daughter is married to a much younger cousin or to an older man. In such cases, the male cousin may later marry a woman of his choice, abandoning his first wife childless. In cases where there is no male cousin, a daughter is married to the Holy Quran, based on a custom of *haq-bakshwai*¹¹⁸ (Patel 2003). In many cases, women are treated as commodities to be sold for money, obligation or honour. They are traded for reconciliation, particularly where there are

¹¹⁷ A young girl who is married into a close kinship union tends to respect and obey her maternal and paternal relatives when they become her in-laws. Thus, her freedom and self-assertion become even more difficult (Patel 2003).

¹¹⁸ In this type of marriage, young girls are denied all the advantages of matrimony; they dedicate themselves to memorising and reading the Quran until death. For this, families arrange a ceremony requiring girls to take their oath on the Quran (Patel 2003).

tribal conflicts (Jafar 2005; Ali and Gavino 2008; Khan and Samina 2009). In some communities, the custom of bride price (in which daughters are effectively sold) is considered a compensation for the time and money spent on the care of daughters before marriage (Khan and Samina 2009). Another custom is exchange marriage (*watta satta*) in which a daughter is exchanged for another girl from the bridegroom's family for her brother or father (Patel 2003). Girls are also offered as appeasement or compensation for a wrong done to one family, tribe or clan, through another practice called *vani* (Myers and Harvey 2011). Women in Pakistan also face the threat of polygamy as men do not consider it necessary to seek the permission of their wives before remarrying (Ali and Gavino 2008). Men often unilaterally pronounce divorce on the premise of misinterpretation of Islam that they can marry four times. Through such pronouncements, women often lose everything including their home and children. In many cases, after divorce, husbands totally ignore the needs of women and their maintenance (Patel 2003).

Under the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance 1961 and Islamic *sharia*, women are entitled to get maintenance from their fathers before marriage and from their husbands after marriage. This liability is often not fulfilled in poor households and women remain economically dependent on men (Patel 2003). Although Islam gives significant inheritance rights to women, yet certain gender inequalities in law and customary practices deny them their proper share of assets (Mumtaz and Noshirwani 2006). In Pakistan, women do not usually own land or other property. In most cases, the dowry given to a daughter on her marriage is considered equivalent to her share in property (Latif 2009). Most women do not claim their share of the father's patrimony, as by claiming her property rights, a woman may lose the support and favour of her brothers, her only recourse in the wake of ill-treatment or divorce by the husband. Sometimes women voluntarily give up their rights in their brothers' favour to maintain the image of a good sister or to seek social and economic support in times of conflict in marriage (Khan and Samina 2009; Isran and Isran 2012). Outside marriage, women have poor prospects without assets or property ownership, with little access to employment or income-generating opportunities if they are illiterate. Even within marriage, women have very limited bargaining power, a poor fallback position and unequal power relations (World Bank 2002 cited in Isran and Isran 2012; Agarwal 2002).

Dowry

Dowry¹¹⁹ is another indication of familial patriarchal practices by which a woman's position is portrayed in the society. In South Asia, dowry is the major determinant of a woman's marriage and treatment by her in-laws after marriage (Bhopal 1997). A bride's worth is measured by the amount of material goods rather than the prestige and reputation of the family. This puts a great strain on family resources and daughters are considered a burden instead of a blessing. Dowry is also a major factor in son-preference, particularly for a family with many daughters and for whom dowry is a great financial burden. Such families find in the bride-price system (in which gifts or money are exchanged in return for a bride) a powerful financial incentive to consider early marriage of girls (Myers and Harvey 2011). The dowry may give some self-respect to the bride in her marital home but it does not give her economic power. When women become older, they indulge in this patriarchal practice as givers or receivers, thus becoming an important instrument in the process of transferring wealth and prestige even when it is not theirs (Bhopal 1997).

The dowry system is deeply entrenched in Pakistani culture. It encourages parents to save money for the marriage of daughters instead of investing in their education (GCE 2005; Makino 2014). Parents start saving for their daughters' dowry from their childhood to alleviate burden at the actual time of marriage. They arrange the marriage of their sons not only for the dowry to be received on a single occasion but also look forward to receiving more throughout the entire marital life¹²⁰ (Ali et al. 2013). This burden drives poor families into debt. Sometimes daughters in such families remain unmarried due to their parents' inability to provide dowry, or married to a widower or an old or handicapped person because there may be no dowry demands in such cases. In certain cases, post-marital dowry demands, if not fulfilled, have negative

¹¹⁹ Dowry means several gifts given by parents and other relatives of the bride at the time of marriage. It is usually in "forfeit of claims by her on the immovable property of the parental state" (Bhopal 1997: 483).

¹²⁰ Dowry is closely connected to capitalism, as there is a relationship between capital accumulation and dowry demands. For example, in India the money received as dowry is often used to start a business, office, clinic, etc. Hence the institution of dowry becomes "a source of wealth which is accumulated not by means of a man's own work or by investing his own capital, but by extraction, blackmail and direct violence" (Mies 1986: p 38).

consequences for the married daughter. She is often accused by her in-laws of not bringing enough money, and faces continuous taunting throughout her life. This often leads to divorce, or even death through burning in extreme cases (Ali et al. 2013). Women who receive inadequate dowries are more vulnerable to violence than those who receive substantial dowries (Ali and Gavino 2008).

Domestic violence against women

Patriarchal practices are one of the most persistent system of power dynamics that legitimise women's subordination to men, and a scope of coercion is automatically created by this dominant-subordinate dichotomy (Zakar et al. 2013). This leads to forms of violence against women, through physical or emotional acts. Evidence shows that domestic violence¹²¹ or intimate-partner violence is widely prevalent, and hence a global issue which cuts across boundaries of culture, class, ethnicity, age, income and education (Ali and Gavino 2008). It may become a daily and unfortunate fact of women's lives, particularly when an intimate partner or a father or brother perpetrates the violence. In extended families, women are not only abused by the husband but also by their in-laws, both men and women. Thus, many women face a "regime of terror" in their homes, that they would otherwise consider a safe place (Patel 2003; Shahzadi et al. 2012).

Approximately 70 to 90% of Pakistani women face violence daily; it is considered a normal family affair (Ali and Gavino 2008). Even women themselves do not consider it a crime, specifically spousal abuse which often goes unreported. Usually, women are threatened to remain silent and bear these acts in the absence of family support and shelter (Patel 2003). The notion of women's inferiority and subordination is deeply entrenched in the social psyche, so that even when religion and formal laws grant certain rights to women, the sheer force of culture and tradition denies them (Awan et al. 2005 cited in Ali and Gavino 2008). The age of Pakistani women is not related to protection from violence; however, marriage at an early age puts women at greater

¹²¹ Domestic violence includes physical, sexual, psychological and emotional abuse, for instance, denying women food, threatening divorce or marrying another woman, separating children from mothers, forced and exchange marriages, mental torture, physical assault, verbal abuse, sexual abuse, forced prostitution and rape, stove burning, acid throwing, honour killings and incest (Patel 2003).

risk of violence from men and in-laws. Furthermore, women who are less educated than their husbands are more likely to suffer from violence (Ali and Gavino 2008). A woman from a respectable family is not allowed to “cross the culturally defined red lines”, any violation of which justifies beating by the husband, giving him a right to inflict “reformatory control” on his wife. This is supported by the society and even a woman’s immediate family condones such acts for her “long-term benefit, welfare and reform” (Zakar et al. 2013: 259). Often, inter-spousal argument spurs domestic violence for economic reasons such as disputes over money¹²² (Patel 2003). Sometimes wife beating takes place through the instigation or interference of a mother-in-law and other in-laws and is common reason for marital conflict in Pakistani culture, and is sometimes due to insufficient dowry as discussed above (Ali and Gavino 2008; Raza and Murad 2010).

The custom of honour killing pervades Pakistani society to control the sexuality of women outside marriage. Yamini (1996: 1) states: “the question of what is intrinsically Islamic with respect to ideas about women and gender remains complicated by several clichés which have been confused with Islam, such as the concept of crimes of honour. Since the boundaries of sex and sexuality within Islam are laid down within the ambit of marriage, illicit sexual relations by women are sometimes regulated and controlled by killing them along with their paramours. Families and communities condone this custom, which operates as law in certain regions¹²³. To preserve the family honour, many honour killings are executed in Pakistan each year; although evidence shows that the male guardians kill more women than men (Khalil 2010 in Zakar et al. 2013).

¹²² If a wife is an earning member and in cases where the husband is an addict, or not supporting the family economically, the demands for money from both sides (from either husband or wife) may incite the husband to batter his wife (Patel 2003).

¹²³ For example, the practice of honour killings is known as *kala-kali* in Punjab, *karo kari* in Sindh, *siya kari* in Balochistan, and *tora-tora* in KPK. All these words denote black or the dark nature of the crime. This tradition is actively practised in the tribal areas of Pakistan (Patel 2003); in many cases they are intended to justify murder based on mere suspicion, or where women seek divorce without family approval, marriage is contracted against the wishes of the family, or there are disputes over land and family enmities (ibid.).

4.3. Conclusion

This chapter discussed the patriarchal gender order in Pakistan, characterised by male-dominance, women's subordination and seclusion, kinship and the patrilocal/patrilineal family system. However, the focus was on gender regimes including the state, religion, health, labour market and family. Although the state played its role in curbing women's activism, progress has been noted in the form of different policies framed for women's development. In Pakistani socio-cultural context, religious ideas are misinterpreted to perpetuate male dominance. The gender inequalities in the healthcare system directly affect the healthcare-seeking behaviours, leading to undesirable health outcomes, high fertility, unwanted pregnancies, medical complications, and future illnesses among women. Lower levels of female labour market participation are directly linked to the lack of education and socio-cultural norms about the perceived value of and returns from education. The female employment problem has social connotations, with a cultural and traditional outlook about women's status in the household, safety and harassment issues in public and in the workplace, inadequate educational facilities, vocational training, and casual positions in the informal labour market. Women in Pakistani families face different gender issues starting from birth, which prefer and welcome boys over girls, and gender discriminations in the allocation of intra-household resources in terms of food, health and education. The financial resources are reserved for their dowries instead of developing their capacities and skills through education and training. Different socio-cultural and patriarchal controls are applied to women to limit their mobility by controlling their sexuality through the institution of marriage, making them dependent on men, inflicting violence on them and hindering their access to education. This shows how different gender regimes in Pakistan work towards female disadvantages.

The next chapter will discuss the methodology of this study.

Chapter 5: Research Methodology

This chapter presents the methodology and research design of this study. The integration of a critical realism and a feminist perspective is described in Section One. Section Two discusses the case study and a mixed-method approach which I employed for data collection through a survey and semi-structured interviews. Section Three describes the data collection process and sampling. Section Four explains data analysis procedure which is followed by ethical considerations in Section Five. Section Six will describe limitations of the study and Section Six will conclude.

5.1. Integrating Critical Realism and Feminist Perspective

Social research is a process whereby new knowledge on the social world using a systematic and scientific process is produced (UNESCO 2005b). Often the research process is influenced by broad assumptions as to how the research should be conducted, who can be a ‘knower’ and what can be known- termed as the epistemological considerations (Harding 1987; Bryman 2012). These considerations question various aspects of our social world and invite the researcher to reflect upon that how such issues should be studied and whether a scientific approach is suitable to study social realities or not. Some researchers avoid using scientific models of investigation (broadly termed as the positivist stance) and think that people and social institutions have special qualities that are different from a scientific subject (Bryman 2012). However, Bryman (2012: 28) argues, “it is a mistake to treat positivism as synonymous with science and the scientific” as realism¹²⁴ is another epistemological position which also takes account of scientific practice. A form of realism is called the critical realism¹²⁵ which has influenced this study and is based on the influential works of Bhaskar (1989) and Sayer (2008).

¹²⁴ Realism and positivism have two things in common: first, is the belief that both natural and social sciences can adopt same approach to collect and explain data; second is the view that there is an external reality which is separate from our description (Bryman 2012).

¹²⁵ Critical realism emerged in the twentieth century as an intellectual response to the positivist understanding of natural science

The main argument of critical realist thinking is grounded in the complex understanding of reality, providing a much richer and fuller description of the nature of the complexity involved (Potter and López 2005). This stance does not only recognise the natural order of reality but also the events and discourses of the social world. The basic idea is that

“we will only be able to understand- and so change – the social world if we identify the structures at work that generate those events and discourses. These structures are not spontaneously apparent in the observable pattern of events; they can only be identified through the practical and theoretical work of the social sciences” (Bhaskar 1989: 2).

It implies that the necessary existence of social structures is asserted in a critical realist stance, although the identified structures may not be amenable to the senses (Mikkelsen 2005). It is also argued that although social structures and human beings both are prime objects of knowledge for social science, yet they are also “very different sorts of thing” (Potter and López 2005: 15). In this vein, Bhaskar (2001) has framed a transformational model of social activity which explains the relationship between social structure and human agents. This model emphasizes that social structure depends upon human activity; it means that human agents do not merely create social structure but reproduce and transform them through their actions. Moreover, the causal effects of the structures are mediated through the intentional actions of agents (Kaidesoja 2007).

A critical realist position, therefore, is in contrast to empirical or naïve realism which Bhaskar (1989: 2) has termed as superficial because “it fails to recognise that there are enduring structures and generative mechanisms underlying and producing observable phenomenon and events”. The generative mechanisms involve the processes and entities that a phenomenon of interest carries in it. However, for critical realists it is acceptable that the generative mechanisms are not observed directly but through their observable effects. In addition, the identification of the context (which interacts with the generative mechanism so that an observed regularity is produced) is very crucial for a critical realist. An understanding of the context is vital because it throws light on the conditions that promote or impede the operation of causal mechanism. The

identification of generative mechanisms, therefore, makes critical realism *critical* in the sense that it offers the prospect of introducing changes that can transform the status quo (Bryman 2012). Similarly, Sayer (2008: 18) has argued that critical realism “offers a rationale for a critical social science, one that is critical of the social practices it studies”. Since social practices are informed by ideas that may or may not be true; and if they are true they may influence what happens. For instance, it is generally believed that gender as a natural or biological product (and not a product of socialization) is the basis of gender relations. Therefore, the disadvantages which women suffer are seen implicitly as natural too. The uncritical explanations of such accounts by social scientists lead to their failure in understanding *gender*. Therefore, to identify such understandings in the society, (which are false as well as the actions informed by them being false too), implies that such beliefs and actions ought to be changed (Sayer 2008).

Moreover, in a critical realist study the focus is on the normative aspect, which means that the research is critical of an existing situation and the data is collected about power structures, power relationships and their development. The analysis of such data suggests intervention and possible strategies to change power asymmetries and to bring about social change (Mikkelsen 2005). Critical realism is particularly cognizant how hegemonic knowledge is produced and which role power plays in such endeavours. It seeks to expose such dominance of power relationships and knowledge and aims at “critical emancipation” by creating an environment in which the oppressed gain power in order to control their own lives in a just community (Hesse-Biber 2012: 11). For example, one of the important goal of feminist research is emancipation and most feminist researchers try to connect their research with social transformation and change on behalf of women or other oppressed groups (Harding 1991 cited in Hesse-Biber 2012). A critical realist explanatory critique is, therefore, aligned with feminism since a research into gender inequality allows criticising patriarchal relations, institutions and practices which bring about false beliefs about women and cause harm to their interests (New 2003).

A feminist perspective focuses on gender inequality, that is, how it is structured as well as experienced at macro and micro levels of a society (Dillon 2014). One of the objectives of this study is to explore the structural and institutional causes of gender

inequalities in education and how girls' education is influenced by micro (household) and macro (institutional) level factors. The feminist perspective often challenges prevailing stakes on knowledge and practices by those who occupy privileged positions. Thus, feminist thinking and practice negotiates steps from the margin to the centre, by eliminating the boundaries of privileged knowledge making which mark what can be known and who can know (Hesse-Biber 2012). Such engagement in feminist theory and praxis allows us to challenge the assumption that speaking about men automatically includes women. Harding (2012) alerts us to the fact that women have always been an object in social thought, conceptualised from outside the group and from men's perspectives. Feminists tend to ask new questions that bring women and other marginalised groups at the heart of social inquiry (Hesse-Biber 2012), such as girls whose educational opportunities were undermined by the lower socio-economic status of their parents in this study. Thus, feminists take account of the experiences of the "others" as legitimate knowledge and are mindful of the hierarchies of power and authority within research practices that reinforce the status quo (Smith 2005 cited in Hesse-Biber 2012). These include male domination and decision-making power in Pakistani households. Ramazanoğlu and Holland (2002:147) argued that a feminist approach is "distinguished by conceptualising taken-for-granted male power in the family/household as a critical issue in making sense of experience of abuse", or, as in this study, making sense of women's oppression, gender discrimination and inequality. This feminist standpoint, based on the experiences of the oppressed, argues that women possess a more nuanced understanding of social reality due to their oppressed location as compared to men, who often have a dominant position. For instance, a radical feminist lens provides insights into traditional epistemologies by offering more complex understanding and solutions towards subjugated knowledge (Hesse-Biber 2012).

Feminists start their research by questioning the androcentric bias across disciplines, taking gender as a category of analysis and by paying attention to women's experiences and lives (Harding 2012). They argue that the starting point of social inquiry must be the change of status quo and a commitment to bring social change as research for the sake of research is not sufficient (Mies 1983). Feminist research is about not only data collection and presentation but aims to provide policy

recommendations wherein researcher is a part of collective effort involved in political activity. It is not only about women but is also for women to be used to change their sexist society thus serving their interests. Feminist research helps women to identify the connections and links between events in their lives and connecting them to the social world. This understanding is important in facilitating the analysis of personal experiences and transformation. The best way of empowering women is education and knowledge about their issues and the assertion that their personal life experiences are a part of the larger social structure (Hussain and Asad 2012).

The first decade of this century saw an expansion in feminist focus on difference through inclusion of sexual preference, disability, nationality and geographical region (Hesse-Biber 2012). The later versions of feminist epistemology (multiple standpoints) recognise social reality by comparing the intersecting relationships between gender, racism, sexism, heterosexism, class oppression or colonialism (ibid.). Feminist research on difference critiqued the racism of white middle class feminism by exploring the diversity and plurality of women's lived experiences (Mohanty 1988), such as Black feminist thought or the experiences of "others", Black women as outsiders (marginalised in terms of their race and gender) within a privileged White world (Collins 2000). A "matrix of domination" helps in conceptualising difference along a range of interlocking inequalities which are socially constructed (ibid.) However, the analyses that focus on race, class and gender frequently ignored diversity amongst women on the basis of their geographical location or cultural placement. For instance, Kandiyoti (1999) highlighted ethnocentrism that lies within universal constructs such as patriarchy and stressed upon strengthening the understanding of cross-cultural context. This study aims to explore the intersection of gender, poverty, gender norms (son preference, marriage and dowry etc.) and geographical location (under-developed areas) in undermining girls' access to and participation in education. As McCall (2005: 1791) states, "no single dimension of overall inequality can adequately describe the full structure of multiple, intersecting, and conflicting dimensions of inequality".

The key goal of feminist research and knowledge building is emancipation (Harding 1991), therefore, most feminists connect their research to social transformation and change on behalf of women and other marginalised groups (Miner et al. 2012). They

“consciously use... research to help participants understand and change their situations (Lather 1991: 226 cited in Hesse-Biber 2012). Feminist research, in this way, intends to change the basic structures of oppression as argued by Frye (1993: 104): “the project of feminist theory is to write a new encyclopaedia, entitled, ‘*The World, according to Women*’. Moreover, a feminist standpoint is a part of the critical theories in which the critique of ideology is considered necessary for the growth of knowledge and liberation. It stresses that the causes of oppression cannot be detected by only observing the individual lives of those who are oppressed. To understand the availability of limited life-chances to women and other marginalised groups, one must criticise that how different systems, for instance, education, health or welfare “think” (Harding 2012).

Reflexivity: Feminist researchers pay particular attention to reflexivity. This process leads them to recognize, examine, and understand that how their own social background, location or assumptions may affect their research practise (Hesse-Biber 2012). Reflexivity permeates every aspect of research process thus making the researchers “conscious of the ideology, culture, and the politics of those we study and those whom we select as our audience” (Hertz 1996: 5). It is an holistic process that underlies not only in the formulation of the research problem but also in the shifting positionalities of the researcher and participants (Hesse-Biber and Piatelli 2012). The knowledge from a reflexive position reflects a researcher’s position in time and social space (Bryman 2012). Reflexivity can develop critical consciousness among the researcher and the participants leading to bring improvement in the lives of those involved in the research process and transforming the fundamental societal structures and relationships (Maguire 1987).

Positionality: As a Muslim, Punjabi and Pakistani woman, I had an awareness and the knowledge about issues existing in women’s lives such as the constraints to their mobility and the wider gender discriminations in the society. Being a Muslim Pakistani woman, I was sharing the same social milieu as was of the participants. Thus, the engagement with the empirical realities of girls’ educational experiences provided in-depth understanding and knowledge about the complex and intricate play of gendered ideologies and power dynamics at the micro levels of Pakistani society. It further assisted to make sense of the multiple intersecting factors that led to the

educational disadvantages of girls within the households as well as within wider community and the institutional provisioning of education. For instance, girls who received stipend were from lower socio-economic backgrounds and lived in under-developed areas.

The purpose of feminist research is to create new and rich meanings to social inquiry by disrupting traditional ways of knowledge. This can be achieved by “becoming ‘both/and’ -insider and outsider- taking on a multitude of different standpoints and negotiating these identities simultaneously” (Trinh 1991 cited in Hesse-Biber 2012: 3). Black feminists such as Collins (1986 and 1991) take the position of an *outsider within*, and discuss the positionality of gender and race and their intersection which produces a different axis of hierarchy and oppression. As an outsider in one respect and an insider in others, such feminist standpoint researchers detect those aspects of social relations which are not accessible to those who are only outsiders or only insiders (Harding 2012). Parameswaran (2001) emphasised the importance of examining the researcher’s positionality and identity within the research setting. The concepts like insider and outsider, native and Western or the self and other are fluid concepts and should not be considered only as binaries (ibid).

While exploring girls’ educational experiences within my own community (i.e. Punjabis), some issues related to my positionality as an insider (a local returning home) and as an outsider (a researcher from abroad) are worth mentioning. My insider status was instrumental in building reciprocal relationship particularly with female participants of the survey. My positionality, as an insider, helped to gain better access in contacting and studying the community in their local setting by creating relations of trust and confidence. To show my insider status (through exhibiting familiarity with the local culture), I wore culturally acceptable and appropriate dress- *Shalwar Kameez*¹²⁶ and covering my head (except in Lahore). To establish relationship of trust and oneness I also resorted to speak mostly Punjabi and Urdu to revoke feelings of strangeness (I did not think of discarding local feminine appearance). However, most of the participants looked at me as an educated, affluent urban woman (wearing designer clothes, having expensive handbag and other material items such as mobile

¹²⁶ A long shirt with wide trousers and dupatta/chadar.

phone, bottled water, own transport i.e. car). For instance, some women identified me as an outsider (working for some donor agency) and hoped to get some cash payment. Some participants in RYK looked at me with inquisitive eyes; their appearance, dress and language showed their linkage to the lowest strata of society. I could feel social class difference and a distance between them and myself which was hard for me to digest. Some participants of semi-structured interviews (public sector officials) considered me as an insider turned outsider. They thought that I do not belong to Pakistan anymore and would not return after completing my studies in the UK. This whole process resulted in dichotomous feelings of both closeness and distance (insider and outsider) at the same time.

The next section describes the research design of this study which includes case study, a mixed-method approach and data collection methods.

5.2. Research Design

5.2.1. Case Study

The main aim of this study is to evaluate the persistence of gender inequalities in the education even after the launch of education sector reforms. Since it was not possible to analyse whole set of reforms, therefore, a single initiative- GSP- was selected as a case study. Valsiner (1986 cited in Robson 2002: 179) argues the “study of individual cases has always been the major strategies in the advancement of knowledge about human beings”. A case study is a strategy to conduct research that involves an empirical investigation of a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context by using various sources of evidence. The purpose is to study the dynamics of some single, bounded system carrying a social nature, such as a school, a home, a community, an institution or a group, to probe deeply and analyse intensively the variety of a phenomena that builds the life cycle of a unit (Yin 2003; Payne and Payne 2004; Welman et al. 2006). The fact that a case study is small scale in nature and is manageable, finds favour with many social researchers¹²⁷. This research has focused GSP keeping in mind its manageability and benefit of in-depth analyses for contribution towards knowledge. Several researchers have defended the case study as

¹²⁷ For instance, the case study conducted by Davis and Salkin (2005 cited in Blaxter et al. 2006) focused on a single family and Stone’s (2002 cited in *ibid*) research for a TV programme to encourage reflections on media coverage of the Balkans War.

a method of theoretical enquiry if it is undertaken with sufficient rigour and quality (see Eisenhardt 1989; Flyvbjerg 2006; Stewart 2014; Mills and Birks 2014). Inferences from case studies are more convincing and persuasive because they stem from the experiences of people (Blaxter et al. 2006). A case study mirrors the complexity of social life and draws multiple interpretations and a variety of meanings. It provides plentiful data which may serve as a basis for further analytical work. Since case studies are based on actual practice, they can be employed as a vehicle to effect change in real life. In a case study, it could be possible to generalize about the larger population (Cohen et al. 2000), although Blaxter et al. (2006) stresses the need to be cautious in such generalisations. The aim of choosing the case study design for this research is to evaluate the GSP to derive in-depth findings from three districts of Punjab province so that some generalisations can be arrived at regarding the impact of this programme in the remaining stipend-target districts.

Feminist research is varied having no single claim on epistemology or methodology, so feminists select from a range of investigative methods that can guide their work and suit their research questions (Miner et al. 2012). For this research, a mixed-method approach was adopted. This is discussed in the next section.

5.2.2. A Mixed- Method Approach

There are two main research methodologies- qualitative and quantitative. A qualitative research is “any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification” (Strauss and Corbin 1990: 17). A qualitative study is conducted in a natural setting and a phenomenon is interpreted through the eyes of people by adopting an inductive approach (Creswell 2009). It helps to understand people, their motivations and actions along with their context within which they work and live (Myers 2009). This methodology uses a wide range of data collection techniques such as personal experience, life stories, interviews and observation, historical, interactional and visual texts (Denzin and Lincoln 2005). The quantitative methodology primarily involves “the collection of data in numerical form for quantitative analysis” (Jupp 2006: 250). This is associated with practices and norms of natural scientific model and it takes a deductive approach to the relationship between theory and research. It considers social reality as an external as well as an

objective phenomenon. The reliance on quantitative instruments and procedures can create a static view of social life that is independent of people's lives.

Silverman (2010: 124) stresses "there are no right or wrong methods: there are only methods that are appropriate to your research topic and the model with which you are working". To achieve the objectives of this research (see Chapter 1), I adopted a mixed-method approach (a combination of a quantitative and a qualitative method). This approach is helpful in linking the divisions between quantitative and qualitative research in a way that the weaknesses of both methods can be offset by drawing on their strengths thus obtaining a comprehensive picture of the enquiry. The qualitative data can explain the meaning of quantitative research, therefore, Hammersley (1995; 1996) recommends that every quantitative research endeavour should include some qualitative data to have better and deeper understanding of the quantified results. Spalter-Roth and Hartmann (1996: 221 cited in Hesse-Biber 2012: 9) in their research about women and welfare used quantitative methodology in conjunction with qualitative to "heighten consciousness and to provide credible numbers that can help advocates to mobilize political support". By using a mixed-method approach, feminist researchers can achieve their goals more effectively (see Jayaratne 1993; Jayaratne and Stewart 1991; Reinharz 1992) as "a single method is [not] the royal road to understanding" (Cole and Stewart 2012: 370). They embrace pluralism as a strategy that does not produce narrow and selective picture of human experience and select a diverse range of investigative methods that can guide their research (Miner et al. 2012).

Within the field of gender and education, a mixed-method approach is particularly useful. The qualitative research helps to explore and understand the ways in which the socially defined roles are reflected in the communities and the educational systems. For example, how one gender is disadvantaged, how the educational opportunities of girls or boys are affected, how the gender roles and stereotypes creep into the curriculum and whether both the genders are equally equipped with skills that will help them to achieve their fullest potential within and outside the educational system (UNESCO 2005)? Moreover, issues such as gendered power relations, sexual harassment and violence in schools or discrimination against female teachers can also be highlighted in the qualitative data (Unterhalter 2005). However, such research

cannot provide an overview of the extent of gender inequalities or can guide that where additional resources should be deployed to address their consequences. The statistical measures for gender and education, like considering gender as the number of boys and girls enrolling and completing the school are also crucial. Different levels of gender inequalities in access, progression, transitions and dropouts can only be recorded in the quantitative data (Unterhalter 2005; 2006). Therefore, the value of a mixed-method research cannot be undermined in providing direction towards social change which aligns it with feminist values and goals.

Using several methods to collect information is also a way of enhancing reliability as one method can be employed to explain the findings of the other method (Maxwell and Loomis 2003). Smith (1994: 113) has noted that “methodologists have long advocated the use of multiple measures as a way of enhancing the reliability and validity of social variables”. Bryman’s (2006) content analysis of 232 articles drawing on mixed method research, identified certain ways¹²⁸ through which mixed methods can be applied. One of them is triangulation which increases the robustness of the findings through cross-validation (Denzin, 1978, 1989; Onwuegbuzie and Leech 2004; Dahlberg et al. 2010; Cole and Stewart 2012). In the present research, triangulation has been employed; the qualitative interviews were conducted to “check and correct the quantitative data” and to ensure the robustness of the survey data (Silva and Wright 2008: 54). However, in such an exercise, results may converge; they may focus on different aspects of an issue and the results may be divergent (Kelle and Erzberger 2004 cited in Flick 2011).

The next section explains the data collection methods employed in this research.

5.2.3. Methods

Survey: As a method of quantitative data collection, surveys can be used as a vehicle to advance feminist issues and bring improvement in the lives of women as it facilitates the understanding of their lived experiences (Miner et al. 2012). Many feminist researchers (such as Harding 1987; Peplau and Conrad 1989) emphasized the

¹²⁸ These are triangulation, offset, completeness, process, different research questions, explanation, unexpected results, instrument development, sampling, credibility, context, illustration, utility, confirm and discover diversity of views and enhancement (Bryman 2006).

importance of survey research particularly in respect of women's issues and other marginalized groups¹²⁹. Surveys may be 'good' and 'bad'; 'bad' surveys waste resources and generate unreliable data while 'good' surveys produce critical information regarding the topic of interest (Litwin 1995). A survey is not simply a set of well-designed questions written down for a sample population. Survey research is particularly suitable for influencing public policy and public opinion as it allows the sampling for large and diverse population in a cost-effective manner (Miner et al. 2012). Mainly, surveys are chosen for three reasons: to set a policy or to plan a programme; to evaluate the effectiveness of programme; and to change the attitudes of people and to impart knowledge (Flick 2011). I employed a survey to understand the perception of parents about girls' education and to evaluate the impact of GSP in terms of influencing social attitudes. A survey is useful in collecting data when large number of individuals are involved (Aliaga and Gunderson 2000) thus fitting well with this study as I completed a questionnaire with 120 participants. The questionnaire had following five sections (see Append 3):

- **Section A:** socio-demographic characteristics of the sample (gender, age, region, educational qualification, occupation, income, marital status, and the number of children).
- **Section B:** information about dropouts in the family, reasons of dropout and its impact.
- **Section C:** parental perceptions on female education (its purpose, values, and outcomes), their preferences in terms of educating their son or a daughter, about traditional gender roles and the allocation of economic resources, with choices for saving for marriage, dowry payments or spending on their education, views regarding girls' early marriage and their daughters joining the labour market.
- **Section D:** parental views on the quality of public schools (infrastructure, curriculum and parent-teacher interaction), disbursement of the GSP and its impact on girls' enrolment, retention and transition.
- **Section E:** parental and community involvement in girls' education, political support, impact of fundamentalism and terrorism on girls' education.

¹²⁹ For example, Jayaratne et al. (2003) used a survey to evaluate an intervention (*Summerscience for Girls*) launched by the University of Michigan to keep middle school girls involved in science. The main objective of this programme was to analyse the effectiveness of the programme generally among girls and particularly among minority girls. Their use of survey reflected a feminist perspective in the sense that the information gathered could be helpful in developing such programmes that would increase girls' participation in science.

Semi-structured interviews: Interviews are flexible way to encourage respondents' opinions in social inquiry (Robson 2002; Yin 2003). Not only it is the most widely-employed method in qualitative research, but it is also quite different from the quantitative approach (Bryman 2012). There are various types of qualitative interviewing, for instance, unstructured, semi-structured, structured, intensive, in-depth and focus group interviews. Semi-structured interviews enable the interviewer to probe deeper and with greater freedom (Bruce 2007). This method has many benefits; it offers insight into what is relevant and important, there is significant interest in the interviewee's point of view, the interviewer can depart from the set pattern and the interviewee can be interviewed more than once (Bryman 2012). Its flexible nature allows the interviewer to change the emphasis through issues raised by the interviewees during research. Thus, it provides richer as well as more detailed data. I conducted 15 semi-structured interviews of public sector officials in the provincial and district department of education (see Appendix 4 for an interview guide) to seek their views about gender, gender inequalities, the GSP and its impact on girls' educational opportunities and social attitudes.

I also conducted 18 semi-structured interviews with survey participants to track the progress of their daughters who were in Grade 8 during Phase I of fieldwork. These interviews were unstructured and took the form of asking a few questions about dropouts and allowing the interviewee to respond freely (Bryman 2012).

The next section explains the data collection process.

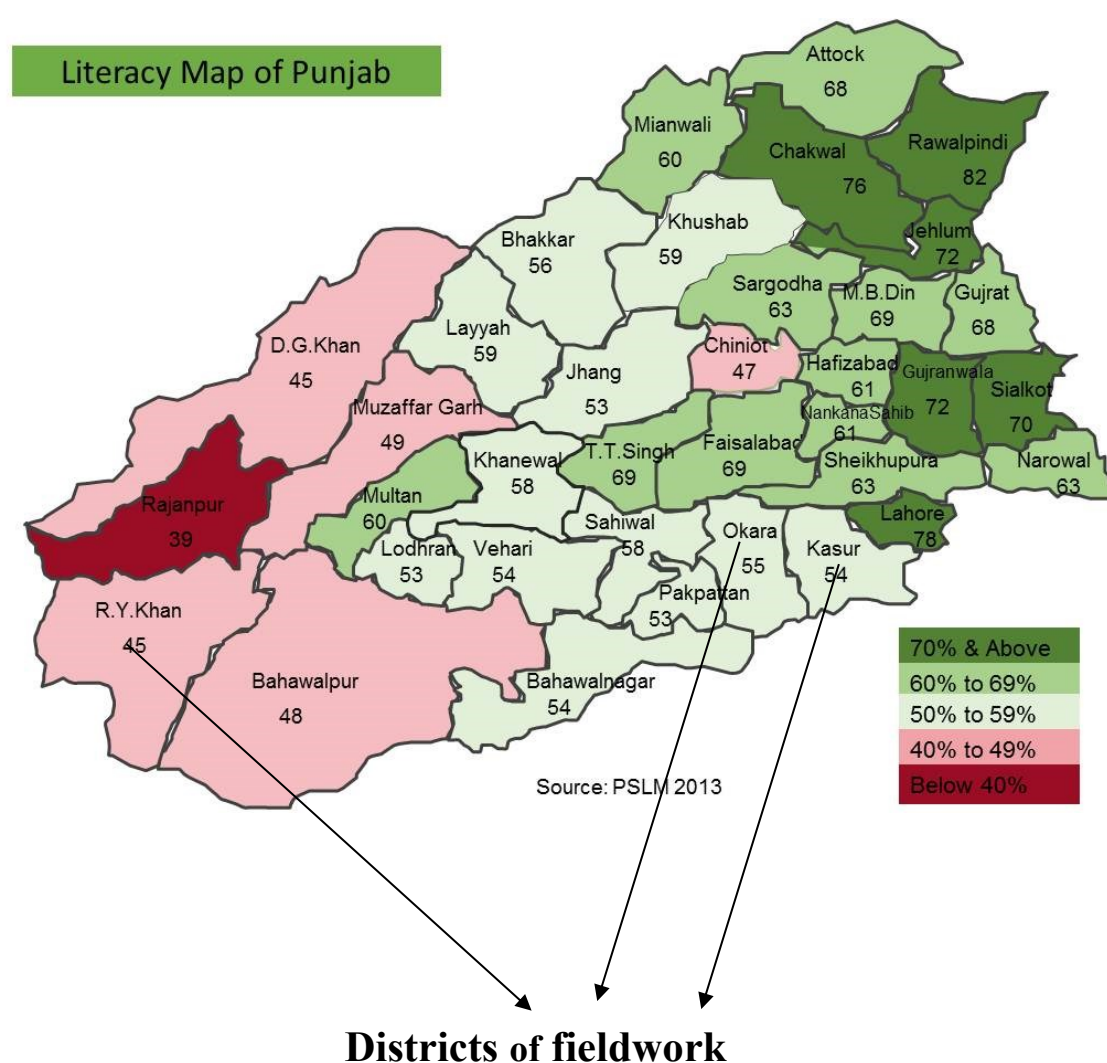
5.3. Data Collection

The primary data collection process included choosing the study region, identifying key informants, sampling and employing the research instruments in the field, the collection of secondary data, reflexivity and my positionality in the field. These are discussed next.

5.3.1. The study region

In the Punjab province, I selected three districts- Kasur, Okara and Rahim Yar Khan (RYK) since they had the lowest adult literacy rates amongst 16 targeted districts. A map of the Punjab province¹³⁰, with information on the districts and their literacy rates as measured in *Pakistan Living and Social Standards Measurement Survey (PLSSMS)* for 2013-14 and 2014-15 can be seen in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1: Districts in Punjab Province



¹³⁰ This map is available on the website of the Provincial Department for Literacy and non-formal Basic Education (<http://www.literacy.punjab.gov.pk/Map>).

According to the *PLSSMS 2013 and 2015*, the literacy rate for Kasur is 54%, for Okara 55% and for RYK 45%. Lahore remained the place of my stay during fieldwork in the districts of Kasur and Okara, which are 34 miles (55 km) and 74 miles (119 km) from Lahore respectively; it was easy to commute from Lahore to these two districts. However, for RYK which is 388.2 miles (624.7 km) from Lahore, I travelled by train (a 12-hour journey) and stayed there for 10 days. The level of development in the chosen districts differed greatly from provincial metropolis (Lahore), for instance the extent of urbanisation, living standard, communication and transportation facilities and the provision of electricity. Next is a profile of the study districts.

Kasur: One of the oldest cities of Pakistan (the sister town of Lahore), Kasur lies adjacent to Lahore as well as to the Indo-Pak border (the village Ganda Singh Wala- also the place of fieldwork in one middle school). The city is well-connected with Lahore and other areas through road and rail network. It is an aggregation of fortified hamlets, known as **Kots**, small in themselves, but together constituting a considerable town. Kasur has three sub-divisions (*tehsils*): Kasur, Chunian and Pattoki (The Urban Unit 2010a) having a population of 2,375,875. The total population and urban population of Kasur sub-division is 1,157,072 and 366,444 respectively (Census Report 1998¹³¹). In urban areas, 192,526 are male and 173,918 are female whereas in rural 412,162 are male and 378,466 are female. The growth rate of Kasur was 2.72% during 1981-1998. With this growth rate, the population of Kasur city would be 397,672 in 2016. The average household size is 7.2 and the unemployment rate in the district is 14.6% (ibid).

Kasur has good economic conditions due to its geographic location and connectivity with other major cities of the province. It is known for its raw leather production. The shoe making industry flourished during last two decades which contributed towards the economic well-being of the lower strata of population. Kasur is known as the city

¹³¹ In Pakistan, the census is conducted every 10 years. So far, five censuses have been conducted. The first was conducted in 1951 followed up in 1961, 1972, 1981 and 1998. The census of 1998 is the last officially available record for reference. The sixth census in Pakistan was planned to be held in March 2016 (after 19 years since 1998) but it was postponed (Khan 2016). It was held in March 2017.

of specialist foods¹³². It is also a tourist attraction particularly for Flag lowering ceremony of Pakistan and India which occurs daily at Wahga border, and for Changa Manga -the famous man-made forest located 30 miles west of the city (The Urban Unit 2010a). Many people commute to Lahore for work or to visit their relatives. The impact of being bordered with the metropolis also facilitates the interaction of provincial and district administration.

The literacy rate in Kasur city is 54%. There are 605 primary schools for boys and 443 for girls. At middle level, girls' schools are greater in number as they are 144 as compared to that of boys which are 112. However, there are 70 high schools for girls and 89 for boys. (PMIU.org 2016). A total of 54.6% of girls have middle school less than 2 km (1.24 miles) away from their homes and 38.8% of girls have access to high schools which are located less than 2 kilometres (1.24 miles) from their homes (PLSSMS 2013; The Urban Unit 2010a).

Okara: Also known as mini Lahore, Okara lies adjacent to Kasur, yet is far from Lahore in terms of distance as mentioned above. It is a *mandi* (market) town which emerged as an urban centre during the late 19th century due to British colonisation. It used to be a barren area prior to the introduction of canal system. It was declared a district in 1982. Okara is situated on National Highway and on Lahore-Karachi main railway line. It has three sub-divisions (*tehsils*)- Okara, Depalpur and Renala Khurd. The population of Okara is 2,232,992 of which 22.84% is urban (Census Report 1998). The average size of a household is 7.2 persons, growth rate is 2.74% and unemployment rate is 15.2% (The Urban Unit 2010b; Punjab Portal¹³³). Okara is historically known for its agricultural-based economy and cotton mills, which existed since the British colonial era. Other industries (such as rice, sugar, oil/ghee, electronics, textile, cotton, surgical cotton, export quality crockery products, services and professional associations) developed over the years. A large-scale livestock and

¹³² Such as Rahu fish (caught from River Sutlej), kasuri methi (dried and crushed fenugreek), corn, potatoes and rice along with many locally prepared food items like spicy tawa fish (fish fried in a big pan), Kasuri Falooda (a cold dessert made from mixing vermicelli, sweet basil seeds, topped with ice cream), sweet dishes (Andrassa and Dhoda).

¹³³ <https://www.punjab.gov.pk/>

milk processing plant-*The Military Dairy Farm*- in Okara caters to the needs of Pakistan army (The Urban Unit 2010b).

The literacy rate of Okara is 55%. There are 445 primary schools for girls and 584 for boys, 176 middle schools for girls and 109 middle schools for boys and 76 high schools for girls and 109 for boys. A total of 28.9 % of girls have middle schools within a radius of 2 km and 40.8% have high schools within 2 kilometres (PLSSMS 2013; PMIU 2016).

Rahim Yar Khan (RYK): It lies further in Southern Punjab- a region already lagging far behind in socio-economic development as compared to Central and North Punjab. RYK is situated on the main Karachi-Peshawar railway line and the National highway bypasses the town on the western side at about 11km. The total population of RYK district was 3,141,053 of which 19.16% people were urban. The average annual growth rate was 3.19% during 1981-1998 and the unemployment rate was 18.9%. The average household size is 7.3 persons. There are three sub-divisions (*Tehsils*) in RYK- Sadiqabad, Khanpur and RYK (The Urban Unit 2010c).

RYK is a commercial and industrial hub; it is linked with the rest of the country through rail and air including other industrial centres such as Lahore, Karachi, Quetta and Faisalabad. Industries include fertilizer, cosmetics, glass manufacturing, cotton production and processing, large textile units, flourmills, sugar and oil mills and large-scale power generation projects. Cotton production in the Punjab province started from this district. Mango and orange are two major fruits produced in RYK. Cottage industries include cotton ginning¹³⁴, pottery/clay products, agricultural machinery, handicrafts, embroidery etc. (The Urban Unit 2010c).

The literacy rate of RYK is 45 %. There are 1108 primary schools for girls and 1115 for boys, 188 middle schools for girls and 195 schools for the boys and 84 high schools for girls and 130 for boys. A total of 48.5% of girls have middle schools within a 2km range of their houses whereas 38.5% have high schools in the same radius (The Urban Unit 2010c; PLSSMS 2013; PMIU 2016).

¹³⁴ To clear cotton from seeds in a machine

The next section discusses the identification and role of key informants in this study.

5.3.2. Key informants

Key informants are important in providing information and helping the researchers to make additional contacts. They serve as gatekeepers and regulate access not only to the participants but also act as “cultural experts explaining culture to an outsider” (Bernard 1995a cited in McKenna and Main 2013: 116). Some key informants become particularly important to the research in the sense that they direct the researcher to situations and events relevant to the research and help in the progress of investigation (Bryman 2012). However, they are not chosen on a random basis, but because they possess special qualifications like a status, extensive communications or accurate information relevant to the study (Kumar et al. 1993; Young and Young 2008; McKenna and Main 2013; Faifua 2014). I identified two key informants (my male colleagues from the civil service of Punjab province) at Lahore and discussed with them the purpose of my visit as well as my research. Both assured me of every kind of help they could extend in facilitating my fieldwork. The key informants were identified due to their position in the provincial public sector ranging from high to middle level of management or due to their experience of working in gender related projects and exposure to trainings in gender matters. The key informants further helped in networking; the aim was to consult a diverse range of persons, to identify relevant participants and to build a reciprocal relationship to facilitate the survey and interviews. An overview of fieldwork is at Append 5.

5.3.3. Survey sample

To get information directly from the government offices/sources was a difficult task which was only made possible with the help of key informants. With the assistance of one key informant, I first contacted the project office of GSP called Programme Monitoring and Implementation Unit (PMIU) based at Lahore and obtained the record of schools located in the chosen districts. The district staff for education guided in selecting two schools in each district, (one in semi-urban and one in rural area). This mix of semi-urban and rural locations was decided to absorb the complex social fabric of gender, socio-economic status and region and through speaking to the parents of both semi-urban and rural girls attending public middle schools.

Although sampling is a crucial aspect of fieldwork, it is not possible to include all potential individuals in the study due to limitations of resources and time (Bryman and Cramer 2011). In this case, a representative sample is desirable which can reflect the population, and can be done through probability sampling wherein all the population have an equal chance of inclusion in the representative sample (Cramer and Howitt 2004). The most basic form of probability sampling is simple random sampling, which I adopted for this study. The sampling frame was the attendance registers of girl students of the selected districts. Their names were chosen randomly from the registers, and their parents were contacted with the help of the local school administration. This also helped in eliminating bias in the process of selection, as reliance on a random process enhances the chances of generating a representative sample (Bryman and Cramer 2011).

Initially I had planned to include 60 fathers and 60 mothers in the survey. However, after an introductory visit to Kasur, I realized that this was not possible as most of the males were not available during the day due to their working hours. As part of pilot, I also visited four households in Kasur which was a time-consuming job and did not prove fruitful. I had to abandon the idea of visiting each household since conducting fieldwork in unknown areas was not possible without any kind of assistance. I also realised that a pilot study was not feasible as the questionnaire could not be given to the participants for self-completion keeping in view their literacy levels. I discussed this scenario with the head teachers in Kasur who assured their help in negotiating access to the female participants, as they needed permission from male heads of their household. They also assisted in accessing male participants, as being locals, they already had a strong rapport with the families. They were of great help in convincing and seeking cooperation of all the participants to take part in the survey.

It is pertinent to mention here that since I was funding my PhD myself, I did not have resources to hire research assistants for data collection and pay them for this purpose. I had to rely on three volunteers. Two volunteers (one male having a Masters from the University of Manchester and one female having a PhD) assisted me in conducting survey in Kasur. One volunteer (a male with a PhD) assisted me in Okara and RYK. I briefed them about the research and went through the entire questionnaire with them

so that they can conduct the data collection without any ambiguity and hesitation. I also requested them to write the additional comments of the participants related to the questions.

Table 5.1 presents the socio-demographic profile of the sample which is particularly important in understanding certain characteristics at the micro level that is the household, and their impact on the educational opportunities of girls and on the parental perceptions and attitudes of parents about girls' education.

Table 5.1: Participants' demographic profile by Gender

Socio-demographic information		Gender				Total	
		Women		Men		Frequency	%
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%		
Region	Kasur	48	55.2	12	36.4	60	50.0
	Okara	21	24.1	9	27.3	30	25.0
	RYK	18	20.7	12	36.4	30	25.0
Marital Status	Single	2	2.3	0	0	2	1.7
	Married	75	86.2	30	90.9	105	87.5
	Divorced	2	2.3	0	0	2	1.7
	Widowed	8	9.2	3	9.1	11	9.2
Number of children per household	1-4 children	38	44.2	16	47.1	54	45.0
	5-7children	42	47.7	15	47.1	57	47.5
	8-10children	7	8.1	2	5.9	9	7.5
Number of female children	1-3 girls	64	74.4	24	76.5	90	75.0
	4-7 girls	21	25.6	9	53.5	30	25.0
Number of male children	0/1-3 boys	73	83.7	30	91.2	103	85.8
	4-7 boys	14	16.3	3	8.8	17	14.2
Educational qualification	No formal education	49	54.7	5	20.6	54	45
	Primary school	20	23.3	6	17.6	26	21.7
	Middle school	6	8.1	9	23.5	15	12.5
	Secondary school	8	9.3	10	29.4	18	15
	Bachelor's Degree	2	2.3	0	0	2	1.7
	Master's Degree	1	1.2	3	8.8	4	3.3
	Any other	1	1.2	0	0	1	0.8
Age	20-30 years	2	2.3	0	0	2	1.7
	31-40 years	56	65.1	14	41.2	70	58.3
	41-50 years	28	31.4	16	50	44	36.7
	51-60 years	1	1.2	3	8.8	4	3.3
Income	Below 10,000 PKR	41	46.5	3	11.8	44	36.7
	10,000-20,000 PKR	39	43.3	21	61.8	60	50
	20,000-30,000 PKR	3	3.5	4	11.8	7	5.8
	30,000-40,000 PKR	2	2.3	4	11.8	6	5
	40,000-50,000 PKR	1	1.2	0	0	1	0.8
	50,000-60,000 PKR	1	1.2	1	2.9	2	1.7
Total: 120		Female: (n= 87) 72.5%		Male: (n= 33) 27.5%			

The above table shows that out 120 participants, 60 from Kasur (50% of the sample), 30 (25%) from Okara and 30 (25%) from RYK responded to the survey. Eight seven (87) were women (72.5%) while 33 (27.5%) were men¹³⁵. The number of women was greater than men due to the non-availability of the latter who were working during the day. This implies that most women were confined to the domestic sphere and not involved in paid work. Thus, based on the sample, there was a clear gender division of roles where women were the homemakers and men were the breadwinners. This bears important significance for gender based socialisation, norms and allocation of resources, some of which will be discussed in the next chapter.

I requested participants to stay in the schools where their daughters were studying for 1-2 hours after they had finished. The head teachers of chosen schools arranged two classrooms to conduct the survey- one for men and one for women. One key informant (one of my male colleagues belonging to the public sector) and some teachers (having good English language ability) from the chosen schools assisted me in conducting the survey. They were briefed about the research and the questionnaire items prior to the formal conduct of survey. Keeping in view the strong cultural restrictions, the male key informant conducted surveys with men. I started with informal discussion about my background and the purpose my study which helped in bridging the gap between me and the participants. I shared all information about the study and the questionnaire with the participants in Urdu and mostly in the Punjabi language so that they could understand the process before giving their responses. Further, to instil general confidence in our conversations, their permission and written consent was obtained and they were ensured about confidentiality and anonymity. Some distance was kept

¹³⁵ A total of 105 participants were married (75 women and 30 men), 11 widowed (seven women and four men), two women were single and two women were divorced. None of the men in the sample was single or divorced. The widowed or divorced participants had not remarried. All the participants fell in the age group ranging from 20 to 60 years, with most aged 31-50 years. Around 65% of women and 41% of men were aged 31-40 years while 31% of women and 50% of men were aged 41-50 years. The majority age group (31-50) had children of school age, (both as attending or as dropouts). The overall size of the household is an important factor within the sample. Around 45% had children ranging from 1- 4 and 48% had children in the group of 5-7 while 8% had children between the group of 8-10. A total of 75% of the sample had girl children in the group of 1-3 and 25% had in the group of 4-7. Also 86% of the sample had male children between 0/1-3 while 14% had between the groups of 4-7. The greater number of children amongst the participants shows that having a large family was not constrained by lower income, although the size of family directly affects girls' education. The remaining categories such as participants' income and education are discussed in Chapter Six.

between the participants while conducting the survey so that they could not hear each other's voice or influence the opinion of others (as some women were neighbours). Other than the responses specific to questionnaire, participants' views on gender roles, attitudes to empowerment and decision-making levels in the households were also noted down. Each questionnaire took about 30-45 minutes to complete.

Women were more enthusiastic about the survey while men were somewhat reserved. Some women who were distressed by their circumstances shared their family problems such as their financial issues and expected some help in seeking jobs for their sons or some loans to set up a business; some asked help in dowries and marriages of their daughters and some sought help for free medical treatment in cases of illness. Some wanted to improve the school buildings and drinking water for their children. I experienced feelings of empathy and helplessness during this process. However, this helped in shedding light on educational and learning environment which acted as enabler or disabler, and as a force for continuity or discontinuity of female education from middle to secondary education and beyond.

5.3.4. Semi-structured Interview Sample

I used a snowball sampling strategy for semi-structured interviews, as this technique is helpful in obtaining information from people having relevant background or experience and who are likely to know one another or any other relevant person (Cramer and Howitt 2004). It implies that the sample for the interviews was comprised of people who were recommended by the key informants or by other people in the sample. They were:

- 4 officials (1 female and 3 male) from the Project Management and Implementation Unit, Lahore
- 1 official (male) from the Provincial Department of Education, Lahore
- 3 officials (1 female and 2 male) The District Monitoring Officers (DMOs)
- 6 head teachers (females) of chosen schools
- 1 official (male) from the World Bank, Islamabad

All the interviewees were aged 35-50 years and were at middle and higher level of management. The original plan was to conduct 30 interviews (relating to the Gender Responsive Budgeting Initiative) with the officials of the Departments of Finance,

Education, Planning and Development and Social Welfare and Women Development. However, at the outset of fieldwork in March 2014, I learned that this project had been closed. This affected the course of fieldwork and with the consultation of my supervisors, I had to change the scope of my research and to reduce the number of interviews from 30 to 15. The interviews were conducted with the officials of the Department for Education. Later the title of the research was also changed¹³⁶.

As compared with the survey, semi-structured interviews were difficult to manage due to the official commitments of the interviewees. Some interviewees took much time in committing and some had to be interviewed in the second phase of fieldwork due to their non-availability in first phase. These interviews were conducted in their offices and each interview took about 60-90 minutes. Each interviewee was briefed about the research objectives and his/her consent was obtained prior to the interview. Some interviews were recorded with the permission of participants while others preferred that notes be taken. There were varying levels of understanding on gendered perspectives; only those officials directly involved with the GSP or those who had attended some training on gender matters (funded and organised by international development organizations like the UNDP) had some understanding of gender issues. The views of the participants about GSP also varied which are explored in the next chapters.

To conduct interviews with the parents of dropout girls, I selected 23 participants from the survey sample about whom the head teachers informed. Five of them were not available- three families migrated (two in Okara and one in RYK), while two houses were locked (in RYK). A total of 18 participants (three men and 15 women aged 30-50 years) were available. Four women in Kasur, nine participants (8 women and 1 man) in Okara and five participants (three women and 2 men) in RYK were

¹³⁶ My initial title of research at the time of fieldwork in March 2014 was *“Impact of Gender Responsive Budgeting on Gender Equality: a case study of the Education Sector in Pakistan”*. The specific objectives in relation to this title were to: (1) Explore the institutionalisation of gender responsive budgeting (GRB) in the education sector, specifically in relation to budgetary allocations (2) Identify gender inequalities, in both access to and outcomes of education attainment, at both primary and secondary levels (3) Evaluate the changes referred to in (1) and (2) within the wider remit of social and gendered structures

interviewed in their homes, which took about 40-60 minutes for each interview. They were asked to explain the reasons of their daughters' dropout in Grade 9.

5.3.5. Secondary Data

The secondary data has many uses as well as limitations. Churchill (1987: 181) states that “do not bypass secondary data. Begin with secondary data and only when secondary data is exhausted or shows diminishing returns, proceed to primary data” (cited in Ghauri et al. 1995). This form of data collection does not require first-hand contact with the respondents; instead, one traces their steps through documents (Blaxter et al. 2006). The secondary data is second-hand data, so the researcher may be overwhelmed to sort out the relevant data (Lancaster 2005). It includes different types of document such as government surveys, historical records, media documents, personal documents and reports of international organizations (Ghauri et al. 1995; Blaxter et al. 2006). Secondary data may also be internal and external. Internal data includes an organization's own operational data, reports, internal memos, publicity and database management system. While external data includes government publications, online indexes and catalogues, publications from commercial research organizations, academic books and journals, market reports, research, professional body reports, newspapers, magazines, and Chamber of Commerce reports (Lancaster 2005). I conducted (what I believed to be) an exhaustive desk review of different reports such as the government reports and publications available on the websites of the Federal Ministry of Education, the Provincial Department of Education, the PMIU, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), the World Bank and the United Nations. This helped me in understanding the working and impact of the stipend programmes in other countries and the international development efforts to reduce gender disparities in education and the educational policies of Pakistan.

The next section describes the data analysis process.

5.4. Data Analysis

For *Quantitative data analysis*, three techniques in SPSS¹³⁷ were used: descriptive statistics (frequencies and cross tabulations), illustrative statistics (visual

¹³⁷ Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 21 for Windows

representation of data) and factor analysis. The questionnaire data was entered in SPSS and the independent and dependent variables were chosen¹³⁸. The independent variables were gender, age, residence, income, marital and occupational status, education and number of children and the dependent variables were several items framed to seek participants' responses (Parts B-E on the questionnaire). For dependent variables, a Likert Scale from 1-5 (denoting strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree and strongly disagree) was created which was later recoded into three levels- agree, disagree and neutral. Although this numerical scale may look arbitrary, it worked well as it is conventional to score the participants' responses in this way.

Key information regarding the socio-demographic characteristics of the sample was obtained through descriptive statistical techniques, and generating tables through frequencies and crosstabulation commands. This proved useful for in-depth analysis on key factors influencing girls' education in Pakistan. Descriptive statistics provide a quick and easy way of accurately describing and summarising large datasets. For instance, the frequency command gives a full range of descriptive statistics including the measures of central tendency, percentile values, dispersion and distribution (Acton et al. 2009; Hinton et al. 2014). The majority of demographic variables were categorical variables¹³⁹, and therefore, were summarised by number and percentages in respect of both women and men in each category.

Similarly, I conducted crosstabulations to assess the causal relationship between independent and dependent variables. In such a relationship one variable is hypothesized or shown to affect another variable. A crosstabulation is a way of summarising the association between variables that have categorical data. In the output table, the combination of the results of different questions are shown with the results of one question as the rows and the results of another question as the columns. It is particularly useful in describing that how a subset of questionnaires, such as demographic information, has responded to the questions that have been posed to the

¹³⁸ The variable which is thought to affect the other variable is an independent variable or *cause* while the variable which is thought to be affected is a dependent variable or *effect*. "The dependent variable is assumed to 'depend' on the independent variable, which is considered to be 'independent' of the dependent variable" (Cramer and Howitt 2004: 20).

¹³⁹ A categorical variable is also known as qualitative, nominal or category variables and is measured in terms of the possession of qualities and not in term of quantities (Cramer and Howitt 2004).

participants (Hinton et al. 2014). In addition, graphs and figures were generated by using illustrative statistics as this helped in summarising and comparing some of the data. The outcomes obtained through this method are a part of the analysis Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

Since the questionnaire contained many items, factor analysis was chosen from amongst different tests in SPSS. Factor analysis is an umbrella term used to summarise or reduce the data collected through a questionnaire to a few underlying dimensions. It is also used to see if a small set of underlying variables/cluster of variables or factors can explain the variation in the original set of variables (Hinton et al. 2014). There are two kinds of factor analysis: *confirmatory factor analysis* in which the researcher seeks to confirm the proposed theory and *exploratory factor analysis* when the researcher does not have any prior beliefs about which, or how many, underlying factors can be found to explain the data. I employed exploratory factor analysis by employing several techniques to determine the ways in which variables could be grouped together. The default method to perform an exploratory factor analysis is the *principal component analysis* (PCA). The statistical tests employed in this research were KMO and Bartlett's test of sphericity, eigenvalue measure, scree plot and rotation which are explained below:

- **KMO and Bartlett's test of sphericity-** KMO is a measure for sampling adequacy conducted to assess whether each item and the overall set of variables are appropriate for a factor analysis or not. A satisfactory KMO value is 0.5. Bartlett's test of sphericity explains the correlation between the variables and is denoted by p value. If the $p < .05$ then it is appropriate to continue with the factor analysis.
- **Eigenvalue** shows the amount of the variance explained by a factor. Factors are only considered to explain a worthwhile amount of variance if they have an eigenvalue of more than one- a minimum criterion below which a factor cannot possibly be statistically significant (Cramer and Howitt 2004)¹⁴⁰.
- **Scree test** is the visual representation of factors and eigenvalues¹⁴¹.

¹⁴⁰ Eigenvalue analyses the total variance of factors and explains the maximum amount of variance by the minimum number of underlying factors. Some factors explain a lot more variance than others do, therefore, a key decision is about how many factors to choose or retain. The first factor explains the greatest amount of the variance which all the variables in that analysis share. The second factor explains the next greatest amount of the remaining variance while the subsequent factors explain progressively smaller amounts of the shared variance (Hinton et al 2014).

¹⁴¹ In a scree test, the factors which are to be retained are represented by the slope while the factors which to be discarded are depicted in the scree. The term 'scree' has come from debris collected at the bottom of a cliff (Hinton et al. 2014). In other words, the factors which are to be retained are the number

- **Rotation** is conducted to test the correlation of variables; it may be orthogonal or oblique¹⁴². I conducted orthogonal rotation to obtain factor loading (which could take positive and negative values between -1 and +1)¹⁴³ (Cramer and Howitt 2004).

The questionnaire was also tested for its reliability which is the ability of a questionnaire to consistently measure the topic under study at different times and across different populations. The most popular method is *Cronbach's Alpha*; its value ranges from 0-1 and 0.75 is considered a reasonable value (Hinton et al. 2014: 351). In a questionnaire, different constructs are measured; if the questionnaire measures a construct for one person accurately then it is considered valid which should be able to measure the same construct for other people. Reliability can be measured in different ways, like testing the whole questionnaire, splitting the questionnaire in parts or examining each question (ibid). The Alpha for the whole questionnaire was 0.75; however, for the different parts of the questionnaire it was also calculated. For example, for Part B and Part C of the questionnaire it was 0.75. For the third section of Part C, it was 0.80 and for Part D (23) it was 0.72. This suggests that the questionnaire used in this study was reliable.

For *Qualitative analysis*, initially I planned to use NVivo¹⁴⁴ which had to be abandoned later as the semi-structured interviews were reduced from 30 to 15. Thematic analysis was chosen for the qualitative analysis of interviews. This is “a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It organises and describes your data set in (rich) detail. However, frequently it goes

of the factor just before the scree begins (Cramer and Howitt 2004). A scree test is conducted to determine the number of factors to be retained for rotation in a factor analysis.

¹⁴² Orthogonal rotation is conducted to ensure that the factors are uncorrelated with or independent of one another. The unrelated factors can be visually depicted as being at right angles to one another. On the other hand, in the oblique rotation the factors lie at an oblique angle to one another (Cramer and Howitt 2004).

¹⁴³ If a variable has a factor loading of 0.8 say on factor A, it means that it is strongly correlated with factor A. On the other hand, if a variable has a negative correlation of -0.9, it means that the variable needs to be reversed to understand what it is about the variable which relates to factor A. If a factor shows a loading of zero it means that the variable has no relationship with the factor. Each variable has a different factor loading and the pattern of variables having high loadings on a factor forms the basis for interpreting the meaning of that factor (Cramer and Howitt 2004).

¹⁴⁴ The computer assisted software

further than this and interprets various aspects of the research topic” (Flick 2011: 421). The themes and sub-themes are the outcome of reading and re-reading the transcripts (Bryman 2008).

The next section addresses the ethical considerations involved in this research.

5.5. Ethical Considerations

Blaxter et al. (2006: 158-159) have summarized ethical principles as follows:

“Research ethics is about being clear about the nature of the agreement you have entered into with your research subjects or contacts. This is why contracts can be a useful device. Ethical research involves getting the informed consent of those you are going to interview, question, observe or take materials from. It involves reaching agreements about the use of this data, and how its analysis will be reported and disseminated. And it is about keeping to such agreements when they have been reached”.

In social research, ethical issues arise at a variety of stages (Bryman 2012). However, the transgression of above principles falls into four broad categories: harm to the participants, lack of informed consent, invasion of privacy and any involvement of deception (Diener and Crandall 1978 cited in Bryman 2012). To have a better understanding of these issues and to avoid any transgression of ethical principles, I followed Manchester Metropolitan University’s *Academic Ethical Framework* and British Sociological Association’s *Statement of Ethical Practise* along with UK’s *Data Protection Act 1998*. These documents provided a set of obligations for good research practice to which researchers are required to adhere such as how to avoid any harm not only to the researcher but also to the participants and how data collected during fieldwork could be protected.

The ethical approval was obtained from the Manchester Metropolitan University’s Faculty Research Degrees Committee (FRDC)/Ethical Committee before embarking upon fieldwork and ethics checklist was ensured (see Append 6). Since the fieldwork was done overseas, a risk assessment was also carried out (see Append 7). The survey was conducted in the schools’ buildings to avoid any harm to the researcher being in an unknown area. Moreover, my family members were also informed about the plan of district visits and they regularly remained in touch. A male family member

accompanied me during fieldwork in Okara and RYK to provide support and protection keeping in view the cultural context of Pakistan.

Participants were briefed about the nature of the research and their consent was obtained before conducting the survey. They were also informed about their right to withdraw, end the interview at any time or refuse to answer any question they did not wish to answer¹⁴⁵. They were assured of their anonymity and confidentiality. Participants of the survey were informed in the local language about the project: all the questions were asked in the Urdu and Punjabi languages, and their additional comments were recorded in Urdu and English languages. The public-sector officials used a mix of Urdu and English languages. All the respondents participated willingly and the entire fieldwork was done in a friendly environment. No coercion was exercised to elicit the views of the participants. Particularly the mothers of the girls appeared confident while expressing their views which showed that they wanted their voices to be heard. I securely stored the primary data to protect anonymity by putting numbers on the questionnaire and using pseudonyms for the interview participants. I recorded it in a personal password protected laptop and did not disclose it to any one (excluding supervisors). The consent forms were secured separately from the questionnaires and field notes.

The next section describes the limitations of this study.

5.6. Limitations of the study

I faced certain limitations in respect of primary data collection. Initially I planned to visit the district of Rajanpur (instead of RYK) that is situated far in southern Punjab. The adult literacy rate in Rajanpur is the lowest amongst 36 districts of Punjab which is 39%. I assumed that more representative data regarding gender disparities in education could be collected from Rajanpur. However, the security situation in Rajanpur did not allow this¹⁴⁶. Therefore, I decided to choose RYK which is adjacent

¹⁴⁵ Participant information sheet and consent forms can be seen at Appendices 8 and 9.

¹⁴⁶ My colleagues did not advise me to visit Rajanpur. In April 2016, an operation was conducted by the armed forces of Pakistan against a gang of dacoits involved in robberies, kidnapping and killings

to Rajanpur (see Punjab's Map at page 121). Due to financial constraints, I restrained my fieldwork to three districts only; even I could not extend my stay in RYK. There were time constraints as well; I could not visit the houses of all the survey participants. Moreover, contacting and seeking appointments with the government officials for semi-structured interviews proved to be a time-consuming job; it was mainly due to their official engagements. I had to schedule some interviews during phase II of the fieldwork.

5.7. Conclusion

This chapter presented the methodology and research design of this study. A critical realist and a feminist perspective influenced this research, which focuses micro and macro levels, and structural and institutional causes of gender inequalities. It takes account of the intersecting dimensions of inequalities by different identity markers such as gender, class, race, culture, socio-economic status and geographic location as this study intends to explore. The issues of reflexivity and positionality were explained both as an insider and outsider to create new and rich meanings to social inquiry and by negotiating these identities simultaneously. The case study as a research design was discussed to investigate the impact of GSP on girls' educational opportunities in the Punjab, Pakistan. This study employed a mixed-method approach to collect primary data through a survey and semi-structured interviews. The data collection process, sampling, the process of quantitative and qualitative data analysis, ethical considerations and limitation of the study were also discussed in this chapter. This is followed by analysis chapters 6,7 and 8.

and many other activities against the state. In 2017, the situation was even worse due to the bombing and attacks on police and security forces in different locations across the country.

Chapter 6: Research Findings: Rights to and Rights within Education

This chapter explores the main determinants that enable or constrain girls' rights to education (access and participation) and rights within education (educational environment) at both middle and secondary level of education. Guided by observations from the theoretical chapters, Section One will present findings from the primary research regarding the household level factors that shaped girls' rights to education across the study region. Bourdieu's concepts of 'habitus' and 'capital' will be used to discuss the 'practice' (access and participation) in the field of girls' education. Section Two will illustrate the factors related to the institutional provision of educational facilities that influenced girls' rights to as well as rights within education. Section Three will conclude the chapter.

6.1. Household Level Factors influencing Girls' *Rights to Education*

Chapter 3 discussed some themes relating to gender and education using Bourdieusian concepts (see Table 3.3). The empirical evidence suggested that 'gendered habitus' and 'parental capitals' determine girls' access to the 'field' of education. Bourdieu (1990: 70) stated that in the embodied sense, habitus is visible in durable ways of 'feeling and thinking, for instance, parental aspirations about girls' education. Before discussing the gendered habitus and parental capital in relation to girls' rights to and within education, first the parental attitudes about education is discussed in the next section.

6.1.1. Parental Attitudes about Education

To ascertain the parental attitudes about education in general and girls' education in particular, participants were asked the following questions:

1. Do you think that education is a need?
2. Do you think that education is a right?
3. Do you think that education is a luxury?
4. Do you think that education is a means towards an end?

5. Or do you think that education is an end in itself¹⁴⁷?

Most of the participants, both fathers and mothers, shared positive attitudes to education in general, as Table 6.1 shows.

Table 6.1: Parental attitudes about education

Education is a	Gender	Agree	Disagree	Neutral	Total
Need	Female	87 (100%)	0	0	87 (100%)
	Male	32 (97%)	0	1 (3.0%)	33 (100%)
Total	Both	119 (99.2%)	0	1 (0.8%)	120 (100%)
Right	Female	84 (96.5%)	0	3 (3.4%)	87 (100%)
	Male	32 (97%)	0	1 (3.0%)	33 (100%)
Total	Both	116 (96.6%)	0	4 (3.3%)	120 (100%)
Luxury	Female	19 (21.8%)	59 (67.8%)	9 (10.3%)	87 (100%)
	Male	4 (12.2%)	28 (84.9%)	1 (3.0%)	33 (100%)
Total	Both	23 (34%)	87 (72.5%)	10 (13.3%)	120 (100%)
Means towards an end	Female	83 (95.4%)	0	4 (4.6%)	87 (100%)
	Male	31 (94%)	0	2 (6.1%)	33 (100%)
Total	Both	114 (95%)	0	6 (10.7%)	120 (100%)
An end in itself	Female	79 (90.8%)	5 (5.7%)	3 (3.4%)	87 (100%)
	Male	31 (93.9%)	1 (3.0%)	1 (3.0%)	33 (100%)
Total	Both	110 (91.6%)	6 (8.7%)	4 (6.4%)	120 (100%)
Total: 120 Female: (n= 87) 72.5% Male: (n=33) 27.5%					

Out of 120 participants (87 women and 33 men), 119 (87 women and 32 men- 99.2% of the sample) agreed that education is one of their major needs; only one man remained neutral. A total of 116 participants (84 women and 32 men- 96.6% of the sample) agreed that education is their basic right; three women and one man remained neutral. On perceiving education as a luxury, participants showed variations as out of

¹⁴⁷ For this research, education as a means towards an end implies the instrumental role of education in capabilities development such as women empowerment, improved decision-making and bargaining power and fallback position. Education as an end implies the educational outcomes (transcripts and degrees).

total 120 participants, 23 (19 women and four men- 34% of the sample) agreed, 87 (59 women and 28 men- 72.5% of the sample) disagreed and 10 participants (nine women and one man- 13.3% of the sample) remained neutral. Out of 120 participants, 114 (83 women and 31 men- 95% of the sample) agreed that education was a means towards an end, six (four women and two men- 10.7% of the sample) remained neutral and none disagreed. A total of 110 participants (79 women and 31 men- 91.6% of the sample) agreed that education is an end, four participants (three women and one man- 6.4 % of the sample) remained neutral and six participants (five women and one man- 8.7% of the sample) disagreed with the statement. The responses regarding education as a need, a right, a means towards an end and an end itself were similar across the rural-urban divide in the study region. For example, a woman (in rural Kasur) said:

Education is our basic right and it should be compulsorily given. Nowadays education for everyone is must and we cannot do anything without education. It is the duty of the government to provide this right to everybody. I do not want any other thing but I want educational rights for my children.

Another woman (in urban RYK) said:

Education is not only our need but also our right ... but only it is actually fulfilled and materialised. It is the dire need in today's world.

The neutrality of some participants showed their lack of understanding of the real benefits that education could bring to their lives or to the next generation. The participants who believed education to be a luxury were greatly influenced by their state of poverty, as one female respondent (in rural Kasur) said:

Education is a luxury for rich people only which we cannot afford. Rich people can spend as much as they can whereas we struggle hard to fulfil our basic needs- the most important being food. Rich people have no worries as we have in our lives. They enjoy their lives as they like to.

For such participants, educational attainment was the right for the well-off. With a few exceptions, overall, most of the participants acknowledged the importance of education not only as their need and right but also as an end and as a means towards an end.

Besides soliciting participants' general views about education, they were specifically asked about girls' education:

1. You will try your best to give your daughter at least secondary education.
2. If you are given some incentive, you will let your daughter complete higher levels of education than secondary.

Table 6.2 shows their responses.

Table 6.2: Parental attitudes about girls' education by gender and region

Response	You will try your best to give your daughter at least secondary education						If given incentive, you will let your daughter complete higher level of education than secondary					
	Males			Females			Males			Females		
	Kasur	Okara	RYK	Kasur	Okara	RYK	Kasur	Okara	RYK	Kasur	Okara	RYK
Agreed	12	9	12	45	21	18	12	8	12	44	21	18
Disagreed	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0
Neutral	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
Total	12	9	12	48	21	18	12	9	12	48	21	18
	N=33			N=87			N=33			N=87		

Out of 48 women in Kasur, 45 agreed to provide at least secondary education to their daughter and all agreed in Okara (21 women) and RYK (18 women). All men (33 in the whole sample) also agreed with the statement. All these participants (117 total) also stated that they would try their best to provide secondary education to their girls even if the stipend were discontinued. A total of 115 participants (44 women in Kasur, 21 in Okara and 18 in RYK and 32 men out of total 33) agreed to educate their daughters beyond secondary schooling if they were given substantial incentives. Thus, girls' education up to the secondary level was valued by most of the households, with stipend playing an important part in secondary education and beyond.

The next section discusses how gendered habitus impact upon girls' rights to education.

6.1.2. Gendered Habitus

Chapter 3 mentioned that habitus is a “structured” and a “structuring structure” (Bourdieu 1994: 170). It is “structured” by one's past and present circumstances such as family upbringing and educational experiences. It is systematically ordered rather than random or unpatterned (Maton 2008). In the “structuring” sense, it helps to shape one's present and future practices. As a “structure”, habitus “designates a *way of*

being... and in particular, a *predisposition, tendency, propensity or inclination*” (Bourdieu 1977: 214). It is a system of dispositions which generate perceptions, appreciations and practices (Bourdieu 1990: 53). Since habitus is the product of lived experiences, its norms, values and dispositions propel individuals belonging to similar backgrounds to act in particular ways (Arun 2017). Maton (2008) argued that the effects of habitus can be seen everywhere as the practices generated by habitus offer evidence of the structures of the habitus that generate them. Therefore, one does not actually “see” a habitus but rather *effects* of a habitus are seen in the practices and beliefs to which it gives rise. As in the context of Pakistan, habitus is first structured through past/lived experiences of individuals (internalisation of gender norms and patriarchal practices such as son-preference, gender role ideology, early marriages of daughters and saving for their dowries instead of spending on education and labour market participation). Then the structuring role of habitus can be seen in dispositions that generate gendered practices such as pulling girls out of school by families or implementing public policies in gender-blind and gender insensitive ways by the public-sector officials. The effects of such a structuring role of gendered habitus can be seen not only on girls’ right to education but also on girls’ right within and through education. This will be taken up in Chapter 8. First the structured aspect of gendered habitus is discussed next.

Son-preference: Participants were asked to respond to the following statement:

- ❖ If you are given a chance to send one child to school, you will send your daughter.

Their responses are shown in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3: Participants' preference to send one child to school

Region		If you are given a chance to send one child to school, you will send your daughter			Total
		agree	disagree	neutral	
Kasur	female	27	16	5	48
	Gender of respondents				
	male	8	2	3	12
	Total	35	18	7	60
Okara	female	16	2	3	21
	Gender of respondents				
	male	5	0	4	9
	Total	21	2	7	30
RYK	female	6	3	9	18
	Gender of respondents				
	male	2	4	6	12
	Total	8	7	15	30
Total	female	49	21	17	87
	Gender of respondents				
	male	15	6	13	33
	Total	64	27	30	120

The above Table shows that out of 48 women in Kasur, 27 agreed that they would prefer to send their daughter to school while 16 disagreed and five remained neutral; out of 13 men, eight agreed, two disagreed and three remained neutral. In Okara, out of 21 women, 16 agreed with the statement, two disagreed and three remained neutral; out of nine men, five agreed, none disagreed and four remained neutral. In RYK, out of 18 women six agreed, three disagreed and nine remained neutral; out of 12 men, only two agreed with the statement, four disagreed and six remained neutral. Thus, out of total 120 participants, 64 participants agreed they would prefer to send a daughter to school, 27 disagreed and 30 remained neutral.

Men and women who agreed with the statement did not express gender discrimination. Some said that their daughter was very dear to them. The number of participants who

disagreed with the statement in Kasur and RYK was greater as compared to those in Okara which was pro girls' education in this respect. A total of 57 participants disagreed and remained neutral (27 and 30 respectively); it shows that the difference between them and the participants who agreed (total 64) was not substantial. From the following remarks given by the participants who remained neutral and also by observing their facial expressions while conducting the survey, I surmised that they had a propensity to send their son to school if given a choice. For instance, they said: *I will send both, I cannot decide, It depends who studies well, I cannot answer, It is a very difficult question, and I will send that child who will be intelligent*¹⁴⁸. This evasiveness suggests that the ideology of preferring sons to daughters was very strong amongst the participants who disagreed or remained neutral. It also implies that they believed in prioritising their son's education to their daughter's education due to their future roles. For instance, in Okara, one man (having an MA and working as *Imam Masjid*¹⁴⁹) said that he would prefer to send his son to school as he would take care of him in old age. This shows that since sons are considered a support in old age, participants preferred to invest in the education of their sons rather than their daughters'. As Purewal (2010) noted, parents view their household resources skewed towards their sons as inheritors, protectors and maintainers of families, therefore, son preference directly leads to discrimination against daughters.

Table 6.3 also shows that the majority of participants who expressed the intention to send their son to school were women and this norm was even fostered by educated women. For example, one woman (having a BA, in Kasur) said:

I will prefer to send my son to school if choice is given because he will be my support in old age. I will not send my daughter only because she will be married and go to her in-laws which is her real home. My daughter cannot support me when I will be old. It is only my son who will live with me and will take care of me.

The education of daughters in less-developed areas and amongst the participants belonging to poor socio-economic status was considered as breaking the wider gender order since girls are expected to follow the traditional culture. For instance, a female

¹⁴⁸ Remarks given by women participants in rural Kasur having no education, and women in rural Okara and in urban RYK having primary education.

¹⁴⁹ Religious head of mosque.

official in RYK quoted the views of a woman belonging to the ‘lower income group’ who declined to send her daughter to school:

If the girls are allowed to go to school, she will learn how to write. If she learns how to write then she will write letters to boys, develop illicit relationships and ultimately will elope with some boy thus bringing dishonour to the family. It is highly shameful. I have seen such examples.... So how can I allow my daughter to go to school and learn all bad things?

Gender-role ideology: The gender norm of preferring sons over daughters is strongly linked with the gender-role ideology of assigning a woman a reproductive role whereby an “Economic Woman does not exist” (Gilman 1911: 231 cited in Dillon 2014: 332). Participants were asked to show their agreement with the following statement:

- ❖ You think that the proper role of a girl is in the reproductive sphere.

Their responses are shown in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4: Participants’ views regarding gender-role ideology

Region Gender		The role of a girl is only in reproductive sphere			Total
		agree	disagree	neutral	
Kasur	female	24	13	11	48
	male	8	2	2	12
	Total	31	16	13	60
Okara	female	3	15	3	21
	male	0	5	4	9
	Total	3	20	7	30
RYK	female	3	7	8	18
	male	0	2	10	12
	Total	3	9	18	30
Total	female	30	35	22	87
	male	8	09	16	33
	Total	38	44	38	120

Out of 120 participants, 37 agreed with the statement, 45 disagreed and 38 remained neutral. In Kasur, out of 48 women, 24 agreed, 13 disagreed and 11 remained neutral; out of 13 men, eight agreed, three disagreed and two remained neutral. In Okara, out of 21 women, three agreed, 15 disagreed and three remained neutral; out of nine men,

five disagreed and four remained neutral. In RYK, out of 18 women, three agreed, seven disagreed and eight remained neutral and out of 12 men, two disagreed and ten remained neutral. None of the men in Okara and RYK agreed with the statement. This shows that participants who agreed with the statement as well as those who remained neutral strongly believed in the gender role ideology of allocating women a domestic role. As discussed in Chapter Four, the wider gender order of Pakistan and the gender regime of Pakistani families assign women a reproductive and non-remunerative role confined within the four walls of their homes. This was noted in both the semi-urban and rural areas of the study region and even educated as well as non- educated participants fostered this idea. For instance, a woman (having no education, in Kasur) said:

A daughter should take care of family/home as her proper place is in home. It does not matter she is educated or not. She will only be valued if she will do the household chores and take care of family members. Otherwise, she cannot earn respect.

Another woman (having no education in RYK) said:

All like the girls if they manage their homes well. Otherwise, everyone scolds them. There is no escape from household chores. It has to be done ultimately and by all females.

Again, a woman (having an MA in Kasur) said:

It does not matter how much you are educated. The household responsibility falls on the shoulder of women at all costs. Society does not accept if females do not perform their domestic duties even if they are earning. There is no way out.

Men also expressed similar views. For instance, one man (having no education, in Kasur) and another (having middle education in Okara) stressed that it is the responsibility of females only to do household chores and take care of family members.

Saving for dowry: The ideology of son preference and allocating women the reproductive sphere leads to lesser investment in female education and greater savings for their dowry¹⁵⁰. Participants were posed the following statement:

¹⁵⁰ This aspect is further explored in Chapter 7.

- ❖ You prefer to save money for the dowry of your daughter instead of spending it on her education.

Their responses are shown in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5: Participants' views regarding saving preferences by gender and region

Region Gender		You prefer to save money for the dowry of your daughter instead of spending it on her education			Total
		agree	disagree	neutral	
Kasur	female	15	21	12	48
	male	4	7	1	12
	Total	19	28	13	60
Okara	female	1	19	1	21
	male	0	8	1	9
	Total	1	27	2	30
RYK	female	6	5	7	18
	male	2	2	8	12
	Total	8	7	15	30
Total	female	22	45	20	87
	male	6	17	10	33
Total		28	62	30	120

Out of 120 participants, 28 agreed with the statement, 62 disagreed and 30 remained neutral. In Kasur, out of 48 women, 15 agreed, 21 disagreed and 12 remained neutral; out of 12 men, four agreed, seven disagreed and one remained neutral. In Okara, out of 21 women, only one agreed, 19 disagreed and one remained neutral; out of nine men, none agreed, eight disagreed and one remained neutral. In RYK, out of 18 women, six agreed, five disagreed and seven remained neutral and out of 12 men, two agreed, two disagreed and eight remained neutral. It transpires that participants in Okara were prone to spend money on girls' education instead of saving for their marriage. The majority of participants reported family constraints as well as community pressures. For instance, a woman (having secondary education in Kasur) said:

Society does not accept. People want an educated girl as well as dowry. Dowry is a must. People want to take it. They say what you have given to your daughter- just education, what we will do of her education. We have to give dowry and for this, we have to save on regular basis.

Another woman (having primary education in Okara) said an interesting phrase which is reproduced:

“Nak reh jaae, lak panwein tut jaae” (In Punjabi, this means that in saving for dowry and giving it to the daughter, one has to save face. It does not matter how much burden is on one’s shoulder). For the time being we will spend on education but keeping in view the rising prices we have to save for dowry as well.

Men in the sample shared similar views. For example, one man (having no education, in rural Kasur) said:

People first ask about dowry. If not given they taunt us as well as our daughter. Therefore, we have to save money for the dowry. If we do not give dowry, no one proposes to our daughters. It is given out of necessity.

Another man (having higher secondary education¹⁵¹ in RYK) said:

Dowry is given on society’s pressure which is too much that we cannot ignore it. All the necessary items are to be given in dowry. How can we give all at once? We have to save for dowry as well.

Early marriage: If the parents do not spend on the education of girls and instead save for their dowry, it further undermines the girls’ *right to education* and leads to discriminatory decisions about their future lives. Therefore, participants were posed the following statement:

- ❖ You would prefer to marry off your daughter as soon as she reaches puberty or a suitable match is found thus taking her off from school.

Their responses are shown in Table 6.6.

¹⁵¹ In Pakistan, higher secondary is a Faculty of Arts (FA) or Faculty of Science (FSc)- equals A-levels.

Table 6.6: Participants' views regarding early marriage of their daughter

Region Gender		You would prefer to marry off your daughter as soon as she reaches puberty or a suitable match is found			Total
		agree	disagree	neutral	
Kasur	female	14	28	6	48
	male	5	5	2	12
	Total	19	33	8	60
Okara	female	1	19	1	21
	male	1	4	4	9
	Total	2	23	5	30
RYK	female	5	5	8	18
	male	5	2	5	12
	Total	10	7	13	30
Total	female	20	52	15	87
	male	11	11	11	33
Total		31	63	26	120

The above table shows that 14 women and five men in Kasur, one woman and one man in Okara, five women and five men in RYK agreed with the statement. On the other hand, 28 women and six men in Kasur, 19 women and four men in Okara and five women and two men in RYK disagreed with the statement. Six women and two men in Kasur, one woman and four men in Okara and eight women and five men in RYK remained neutral. This socio-cultural practice of girls' early marriage was dominant in Kasur and RYK whereas Okara differed so that early marriage was not favoured. For women, favouring this practice was linked to their subordinate status (due to their weak bargaining position) in the households where men were the decision-makers. For example, one woman (having secondary education in Kasur) said:

The father of my daughter will decide about her schooling and marriage. His first preference will be marriage. If no suitable match is found, then she can continue her studies, find a job and earn.

Another woman (having secondary education in Kasur) said:

My husband will decide about the marriage of my daughter. If he finds a match in the family and finds it good, he will marry his daughter. It does not matter whether the would-be groom

is educated or not. We have ‘*Baradari*’ (kinship) system and due to family pressure, we will marry our daughter early.

Finding an equally educated match: In South Asia, the more education a girl receives, the more price she has to pay to marry since social norms require that husbands should have more education than wives (King and Winthrop 2015). Participants were posed the following statement:

❖ You would find at least an equally educated match for your daughter.

Table 6.7 shows their responses.

Table 6.7: Participants’ views about finding equally educated match for their daughter

Region Gender		Would you find at least equally educated match for your daughter			Total
		agree	disagree	neutral	
Kasur	female	30	7	11	48
	male	8	0	4	12
	Total	38	5	15	60
Okara	female	19	0	2	21
	male	8	1	0	9
	Total	27	1	2	30
RYK	female	6	3	9	18
	male	5	1	6	12
	Total	11	4	15	30
Total	female	55	10	22	87
	male	21	2	10	33
	Total	76	12	32	120

Out of 120 participants, 76 agreed, 12 disagreed and 32 remained neutral. Out of 48 women in Kasur, 30 agreed, seven disagreed and 11 remained neutral; out of 12 men, eight agreed, none disagreed and four remained neutral. In Okara, out of 21 women, 19 agreed, none disagreed and two remained neutral; out of nine men, eight agreed, none disagreed and one remained neutral. In RYK, out of 18 women, six agreed, three disagreed and nine remained neutral and out of 12 men, five agreed, one disagreed and six remained neutral.

The participants who agreed with the statement believed in the value of education for both genders. For example, a man (having middle level of education in Okara) said:

Chapter 6: Research Findings: Rights to and Rights within Education

I educated all my children and married them. I feel very proud. I love my daughters more than boys and always tried to fulfil all their requirements. Even I have found suitable matches for them having similar or more education than they have since an educated and uneducated person is not equal.

One woman (having a BA in Okara), who disagreed with the statement, shared how the practice of marrying a daughter within families (kinship marriages) does not take into account a girl's educational level:

We are from a landlord family. If our daughter is educated up to Masters Level and there is a boy in the family who has just secondary education but can afford a family, even then we will marry our daughter to him

Thus, participants' gender, education or geographical location did not influence the socio-cultural norm of marrying the girls early or finding an equally educated match for them. Rather it was the pressure exerted by the families and *biradari* (kinship) which was an obstacle to girls' *right to education*.

Labour market participation: The gender norms and socio-cultural practices discussed above have further implications for the future productivity of girls particularly their joining the labour market. Such perceptions and attitudes suggest that women would have fewer chances to obtain paid work and resultantly, few opportunities to change their lot. Participants were questioned on this aspect as well, as follows:

- ❖ If your daughter is educated, you would like her to enter in formal labour market.

Table 6.8 shows their responses.

Table 6.8: Participants' views regarding female labour force participation

Region Gender		Would you like your daughter's entry in formal labour market if she is educated			Total
		agree	disagree	neutral	
Kasur	female	24	0	24	48
	male	6	2	4	12
	Total	30	2	26	60
Okara	female	18	3	0	21
	male	7	1	1	9
	Total	25	4	1	30
RYK	female	8	2	8	18
	male	3	7	2	12
	Total	11	9	10	30
Total	female	50	7	30	87
	male	16	10	7	33
	Total	66	17	37	120

Out of 48 women in Kasur, 24 agreed to allow their daughters to join the labour market while 24 remained neutral and none disagreed; out of 13 men six agreed, two disagreed and five remained neutral. In Okara, out of 21 women, 18 agreed and three disagreed while no woman was neutral; out of nine men seven agreed, one disagreed and one remained neutral. In RYK, out of 18 women, eight agreed, two disagreed and eight remained neutral and out of 12 men three agreed, seven disagreed and two remained neutral. Out of total 120 participants, 66 agreed with the statement, 15 disagreed and 39 remained neutral. This shows that in Okara, participants were more progressive regarding female labour force participation as compared to the participants in Kasur and RYK.

For women who disagreed or remained neutral, their husband was the decision-making authority in this regard. For example, a woman (having no education in RYK) said:

My husband does not want his daughter to enter in labour force. He says: *larkiyon ki kamai khana hraram hey* (means that it is not right to consume the income of a daughter). However, I want my daughter to do some job and be respectable. If her in-laws allow her she could do some paid work.

In some cases, it was the woman herself who was against the girls joining labour market. For example, one woman (having no education in Kasur) said:

Chapter 6: Research Findings: Rights to and Rights within Education

I will marry all my children whether they find any job or not. Marriage is to happen ultimately. It is not compulsory for girls to do jobs. First preference will be their marriage.

Similarly, different views were noticed amongst men. Some were supportive, for instance, a man (having secondary education in Kasur) said:

I will let my daughter join the labour market if she is willing. If she is educated, she will gain confidence. Moreover, she will learn new things if she will do some job and will take care not of herself but also of her family in future.

For others, the reproductive role of girls was more important as one man (having primary education in RYK) said:

(Larkiyon ko ghar daari aani chahiye; un ki zimadari nahi ghar chalana) i.e. girls should not do any kind of job. It is not their responsibility to feed the family. Their proper role is to take care of her parents, husband and children.

For men who disagreed or remained neutral, *purdah* (female seclusion) was important as one man (having a MA in Kasur) said:

I will agree to let my daughter do some job only if it is *bapurda* (segregated).

Gender differences in schooling occur in part because the returns to educating boys are considered greater than for girls. In South Asian communities, the returns to an additional year of schooling for daughters is low as compared to sons. For instance, in certain areas of West Bengal, 86% of parents wanted their daughters to be homemakers or leave their future to be decided by their in-laws, compared with less than 1% for their sons (Beaman et al. 2011). Thus, for girls and women, equal educational attainment does not materialise into equal rewards in the labour market (Heward 1999). Moreover, if women are discriminated against in the labour market, then investing in their education will be less productive as compared to investment in boys' education (Chaaban and Cunningham 2011). Glick and Sahn (2000) noted that there may be substantial returns to female schooling in non-market production as well, which are not recognised by parents¹⁵². Even if educated girls join the labour market and earn at a par with men, the income remittances to parents from married adult daughters (who join their husbands' families), may be much lower than from adult sons (ibid).

¹⁵² Parents may not be aware of the non-pecuniary benefits (that is the non-economic personal instrumental roles of education) or they may value such benefits less than monetary ones.

The above analysis shows that participants' habitus had a set of mixed dispositions about girls' education. Parental awareness about girls' education was not a hindrance to their *right to education*, at least to middle and secondary educational levels. Rather such perceptions, of both fathers and mothers, were positive and revealed a demand in the families for girls' education. Most of the participants expressed a strong desire to educate their daughters at least until secondary level. On the other hand, such awareness was influenced by gender norms and patriarchal practices as detailed above. The habitus highlighted participants' ways of thinking, feeling and acting, showing how they were carrying within them their history (habitus as structured) and how they brought this history into their present circumstances, and how they made choices to act in certain ways and not others (habitus as structuring the structure) (Maton 2008).

Chapter 3 mentioned Bourdieu's formula of practice: **[(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice** implying that habitus and capital are interlocking elements. The habitus does not act alone; neither Bourdieu suggested that "we are pre-programmed automatons acting out implications of our upbringing" (Maton 2008: 51). The practices result from "an obscure and double relation" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 126) or "an unconscious relationship" (Bourdieu 1993: 76) between habitus (one's dispositions), capital (one's position in a field) and field (social space such as family, education, or society as a whole). So far, we have seen the impact of one element of Bourdieu's formula that is the habitus on girls' educational access. Bourdieu's (1986) typology of capitals (see Chapter 3) allows for an analysis of economic, cultural and social determinants of girls' education since the capital which children possess is strongly correlated with the capital of their parent (Sullivan 2001). Using these capitals as a proxy for social location (parental position in the field), the findings in relation to the impact of parental capitals (economic, cultural and social) on girls' *right to education* are discussed in the next section.

6.1.3. Impact of parental capitals on girls' education

Bourdieu's typology of capitals (economic, cultural and social) was employed to capture participants' socio-economic status. Parental capitals connote the material context of the families/households. Participants' monthly incomes and occupations revealed their economic capital; their cultural capital was denoted by their educational

levels as well as their attitudes towards gender norms and their social capital was determined by the networks and connections within their communities. The impact of participants' economic capital on girls' education is discussed first.

Parental economic capital and girls' education

Much of the discussion on educational inequalities particularly in the West has been around class structures (Blanden and Gregg 2004; Perry and Francis 2010; Strand 2012; Brown et al. 2013). Class divisions and economic ability reveal the social location of households through their socio-economic status. Socio-economic variables in the western context include social class of the family defined through the main occupation of the household head (mostly male), parental educational levels, access to welfare benefits such as state housing and entitlement to a free school meal (Strand 2012). Social class, thus, continues to exert an important influence on children's educational attainment from their early years of schooling (see Lareau 1992; Glick and Sahn 2000).

In the case of South Asia and specifically Pakistan, social locations are defined by socio-economic context such as income and occupation which vary by region. In this study, participants' occupation and monthly income was defined as their economic capital to signify their social location¹⁵³. Table 6.9 shows their occupations¹⁵⁴.

¹⁵³ Since social security benefits (like state housing, free school meals or income support etc.) are not awarded in Pakistan, such factors were considered for this study.

¹⁵⁴ (see Table 1 and 2 in the Appendix 10 for working status of the participants).

Table 6.9: Participants' occupations by gender and region

Region	Gender	Occupations								Total
		No job	Public sector Employee (office boy, clerks, teachers, lecturers)	Cultivators (working on someone else's land as paid farm labourers)	Labourers (working on construction sites as helpers)	Factory worker	Self-employed (shop-keepers and tailors)	Daily wages	Informal sector (house maid/servant)	
Kasur	Male	0	5	0	3	0	3	1	0	12
	Female	29	3	10	5	0	0	1	0	48
	Total	29	8	10	8	0	3	2	0	60
Okara	Male	0	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	9
	Female	15	1	0	2	0	2	0	1	21
	Total	15	2	1	3	1	4	1	3	30
RYK	Male	0	1	7	2	0	1	0	1	12
	Female	8	0	7	1	0	0	0	2	18
	Total	8	1	14	3	0	1	0	3	30
Total of Totals		52	11	25	12	1	8	3	6	120

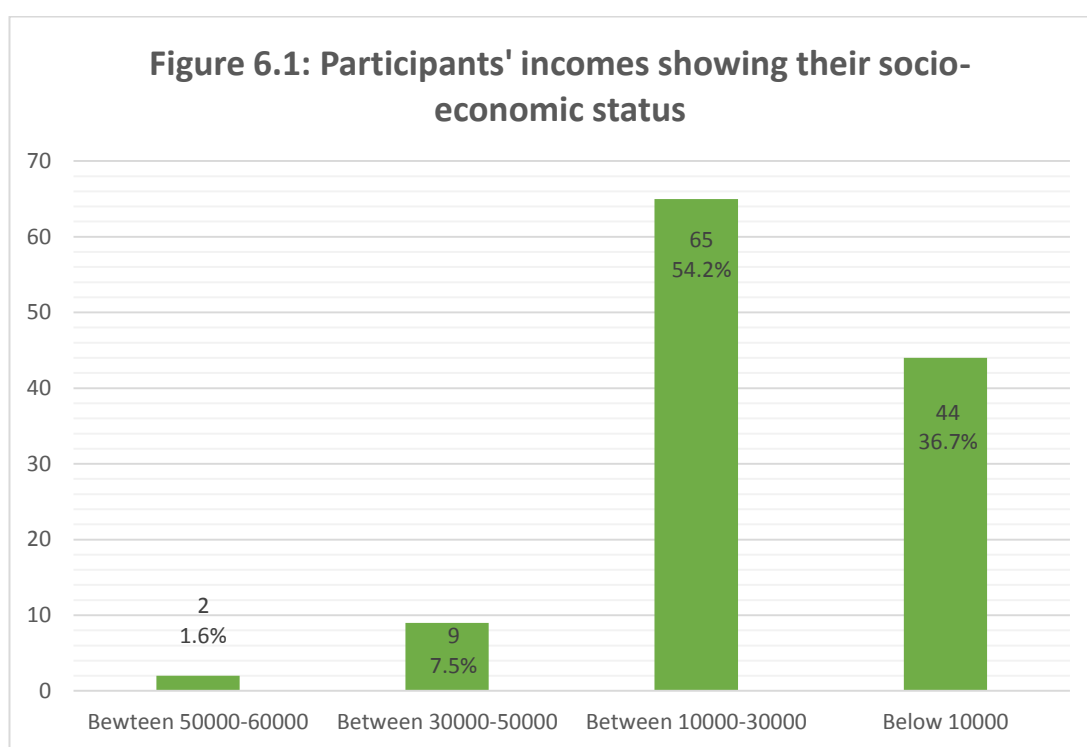
Out of 120 participants, 68 (56.7%) were economically active while 52 (43.3%) were not. Out of 68 participants who were in any kind of employment, 25 (20.8%) were in the agricultural sector (the largest employment sector in Pakistan). Out of total 35 working women, 17 were employed in agriculture, where women form a majority of workers. Excluding the agricultural sector, labour in construction and formal employment in the governmental sector were other avenues of paid work in the study region. The employment of both genders in the secondary sector such as factories was negligible (only one man was working in a rice factory in Okara). There were eight self-employed participants and six worked in the informal sector. Only two participants (one man and one woman in Kasur) were lecturers¹⁵⁵ and the remaining 118 participants belonged to the lower economic backgrounds¹⁵⁶. The occupational categories show that girl children of such participants enrolled in public schools at the time of fieldwork (in 2014) belonged to these backgrounds. Clearly the sample reflects a range of households from poorer economic backgrounds in all three regions.

¹⁵⁵ A lecturer is a gazetted post in Grade 17 in state academic institutes in Pakistan and classified as middle-class.

¹⁵⁶ This includes low ranking government employees (like office boys, clerks, assistants), factory workers, petty traders, plumbers, tailors, masons, drivers, electricians, school teachers, construction workers, etc. (Subohi 2006).

Out of 52 non-working participants, 50 were women and two were men. This shows that the majority of women in the sample were confined to the domestic sphere (non-remunerative role) fulfilling the social needs of their families such as childcare, taking care of the elderly and the sick and managing the household chores such as tending small animals and household plots as well as doing craftwork (e.g. sewing).

Aside from their occupations, participants' monthly income was also an important predictor of their socio-economic status. This varied from below 10,000 Pakistani Rupees (PKR) to 60,000 PKR¹⁵⁷ as shown in Figure 6.1.



This figure shows that 44 participants (36.7%) had incomes below 10,000 PKR per month and 65 (54.2%) had incomes between 10,000- 30,000 PKR per month. Nine participants (7.5%) had incomes between 30,000- 50,000 PKR per month and only one participant had an income between 50,000- 60,000 PKR per month. (also see

¹⁵⁷ According to the currency conversion as on 19-05-2016, monthly income of the participants into British Pounds (£) was as follows:

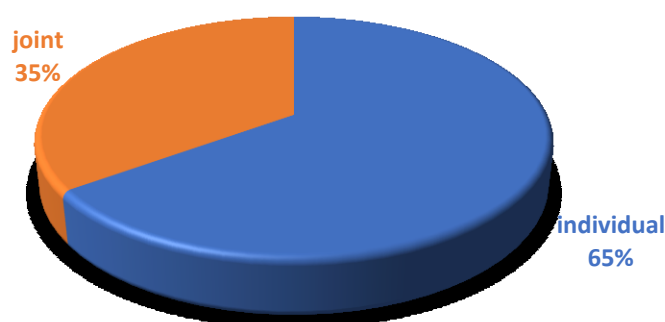
10,000 PKR = £ 65.32	20,000 PKR = £ 130.65	30,000 PKR = £ 195.97
40,000 PKR = £ 261.29	50,000 PKR = £ 326.61	60,000 PKR = £ 391.94

Table 3 at Appendix 10¹⁵⁸). Based on their monthly incomes, participants were categorised into following four groups, which indicated their economic capital:

- **Very Low-Income Group:** incomes below 10,000 PKR
- **Low Income Group:** incomes between 10,000-30,000 PKR
- **Lower Middle-Income Group:** incomes between 30,000-50,000 PKR
- **Middle Income Group:** incomes below 50,000-60,000 PKR

In addition, the nature of participants' income (individual or joint) indicated the socio-economic status of the households. Figure 6.2 shows that 65% of the participants had an individual income of the main breadwinner (men) in the family and 35% had joint incomes (income of both husband and wife). This shows that women were working to supplement their family income in addition to their domestic responsibilities, thus bearing a double burden.

Figure 6.2: Nature of Participants' Income

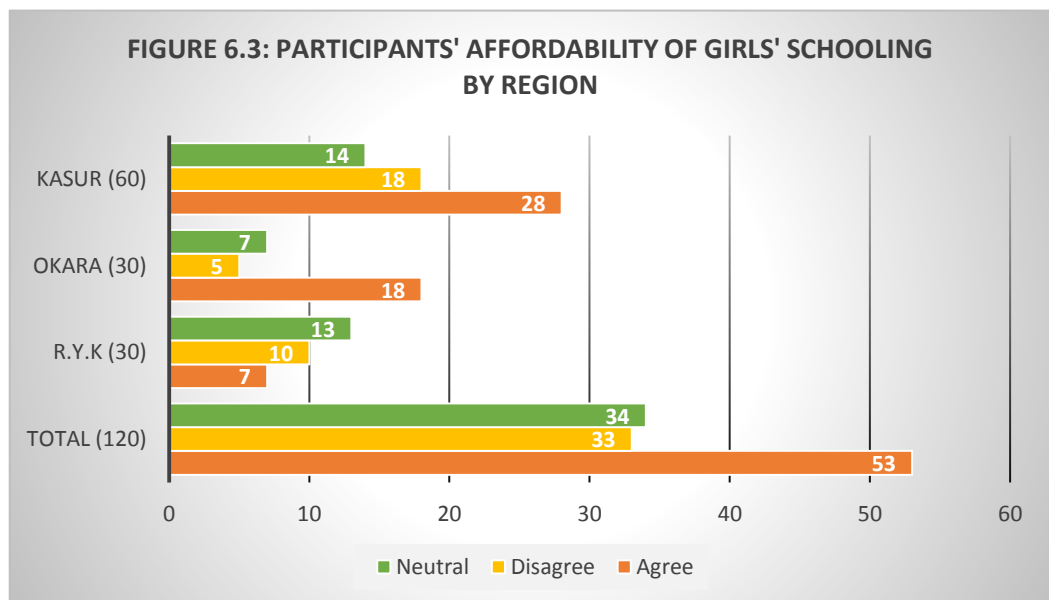


¹⁵⁸ Table 3 at Appendix 10 shows that 46.5% of women and 11.8% of men had an income below 10,000 PKR. This shows that the number of women who reported lower monthly income was greater than men. Around 48.8% of women and 73.6% of men had an income between 10,000 - 30,000 PKR. Only 5 % of the total sample (2.3% women and 11.8% men) earned between 30,000 - 40, 000 PKR and 0.8% earned between 40,000 - 50,000 PKR (in Kasur, only one female participant had an income between 40,000- 50,000 PKR). Only 2% had an income between 50,000 - 60,000 PKR (two lecturers employed in state academic institutes in Kasur- one woman and one man).

Chapter 3 mentioned that for poor households, obtaining food is most important for families. In addition to the budgetary constraints, a larger household size has further implications for girls' schooling as parents exercise trade-offs when they have to choose between daily necessities and schooling of girls. The demographic characteristics of the sample (see Chapter 5) showed that most of the participants had children aged from three to seven years. Therefore, participants were asked to show their agreement level about the following statement:

❖ Schooling of your daughter is affordable.

Their responses are shown in Figure 6.3.



In Kasur, out of 60 participants, 28 agreed that their daughters' schooling was affordable, 18 disagreed, and 14 remained neutral. In Okara, out of 30 participants 18 agreed, 5 disagreed and 7 remained neutral. In RYK, out of 30 participants, only seven agreed that they can afford their daughter's schooling, 10 participants disagreed and 13 remained neutral. Thus, out of 120 participants, 53 agreed, 33 disagreed and 34 remained neutral. The participants who disagreed or remained neutral expressed their financial hardship due to their lower socio-economic status. For households having very low and low monthly incomes (below 10,000 PKR and between 10,000- 30,000 PKR respectively), sending children, particularly girls, to school was a substantial

burden on their already over-stretched domestic budgets. Even the participants from the ‘lower middle’ income group (incomes between 30,000-50,000 PKR) had financial constraints in managing the cost of girls’ schooling. This shows that the impact of participants’ economic capital on girls’ education was significant. Households belonging to the ‘lower’ and ‘very lower’ income groups could not meet some or all types of educational costs¹⁵⁹.

Most of the participants also shared that the GSP was partially helpful in meeting some of the direct cost-related needs of the girls (who were attending school at the time of the fieldwork in 2014). The majority of participants also expressed their desire that the government should increase the stipend money and extend it to higher education. They also demanded to provide free uniform, stationary items and transport facilities for girls, particularly for secondary schools. However, such demand was not shown for boys which suggests that the parents would exercise trade-offs only in respect of girls’ schooling if they have to choose between the schooling of either their son or daughter. Moreover, parents did not express any concern for transport provision in respect of boys pointing to different socio-cultural norms regarding physical mobility of boys and girls in Pakistan.

Thus, parental awareness was not the only factor shaping girls’ educational opportunities. To a very large extent, as from a Bourdieusian perspective, the level of economic capital was significant in determining girls’ access to education, particularly at middle and secondary levels. Although it is seen that parents value education across different socio-economic groups, some social categories that lack economic capital are unable to transmit resources to their children’s educational outcomes. This affects inter-generational transmission of resources as well as intra-generational inequalities as seen in Chapter 3 that boys’ education is more valued and supported than girls’ education. This was noted when the economic costs led some participants to make

¹⁵⁹ This includes both direct and opportunity costs as discussed in Chapter Two, direct costs include expenditure incurred on books, uniform and travelling to school while opportunity costs include domestic chores in the case of girls and possible earnings in the case of boys. It was noted that a substantial number of sampled families had older children particularly older girls who dropped out from school due to different reasons, the most important being the cost of schooling. It suggested that the girls who were attending the school and getting the conditional stipend in 2014 might be at the risk of dropping out (see Chapter 8).

choices based on gender norms. For example, six participants in Kasur belonging to the ‘lower middle’ income group preferred to send their boys to low-cost private schools (due to their quality) while sending girls to public schools to obtain the stipend money. It also implies that the parents wanted to provide a better-quality education to their sons and lower quality schooling for their daughters. The costs and benefits associated with educating a daughter may be different for a family from those associated with a son’s education and the resultant returns from his schooling¹⁶⁰ (see Robyens 2006; Akkoyunlu-Wigley and Wigley 2008).

Socio-economic disadvantage bears not only direct influence on girls’ educational opportunities, primarily through limited material resources, but also exerts an indirect influence through parental education (Strand 2012). The next section explains the impact of participants’ cultural capital (their educational levels) on the education of their daughters.

Parental cultural capital and girls’ education

Many researchers used parental education as a form of cultural capital which influences the educational advantage of children (Ball et al. 1994; Sullivan 2001; Reay et al. 2005; Sullivan 2012). Specifically, girls are more likely to enrol in school and complete their education if their parents possess higher levels of education (see Glick and Sahn 2000; Chevalier et al. 2005; Chudgar et al. 2012). Depending upon the amount of cultural capital, parents transmit different levels of educational aspirations to children which influence children’s life chances (see Lareau 1992). Participants’ educational level is shown in Table 6.10.

¹⁶⁰ Chapter three mentioned that investing in female education may be seen as of little value if the presence of entrenched gender norms and gender role ideologies mean that women are less likely to be employed and earn less than men with the same educational level.

Table 6.10: Participants' educational level by gender and region

Gender of respondents		Educational level							Total
		No formal education	Primary	Middle	Secondary	Bachelors	Masters	any other	
female	Kasur	29	8	3	5	1	1	1	48
	region Okara	8	7	2	3	1	0	0	21
	RYK	11	5	2	0	0	0	0	18
	Total	47	20	7	8	2	1	1	87
male	Kasur	2	1	3	5		2		13
	region Okara	0	1	4	3		1		9
	RYK	5	4	1	2		0		12
	Total	7	6	8	10		3		34
Total	Kasur	30	9	6	10	1	3	1	60
	region Okara	8	8	6	6	1	1	0	30
	RYK	16	9	3	2	0	0	0	30
	Total	55	26	15	18	2	4	1	120

Out of total 120 participants, 55 (30 in Kasur, 8 in Okara and 16 in RYK) had no formal education; this is almost half of the total sample. A total of 26 participants (nine in Kasur, eight in Okara and nine in RYK) attained primary level and 15 attained a middle level of education (six in Kasur, six in Okara and three in RYK). Participants with secondary education were 18 in total (ten in Kasur, six in Okara and two in RYK). Only two had a Bachelor's degree (one in Kasur and one in Okara) and four participants had a Master's degree (three in Kasur and one in Okara). Only one participant in Kasur had attained other education (religious) in a *Madrasah*¹⁶¹. This shows that in terms of educational attainment, the participants in RYK did not possess cultural capital beyond secondary education, and even this was nominal. In Okara, one only participant had a Bachelor's degree; Kasur had three participants with a Masters qualification thus showing a greater amount of cultural capital as compared to Okara and RYK.

If we examine the regional variations by gender, the Table 6.10 shows that out of 48 women in Kasur, 29 did not have any education; eight females attained a primary level; three had middle; five attained a secondary level; one had a BA, one had an MA and one female participant had completed religious education. In Okara, out of total 21

¹⁶¹ Madrasah is an Islamic school which provide free religious education, boarding and lodging.

female participants, eight were without any formal education while seven females had primary level of education, two had middle, three attained a secondary level of education, one had a BA and none had an MA or religious education. In RYK, out of total 18 female participants, 11 had no education while five had primary and two had secondary education. None of the female had education beyond secondary level in RYK. On the other hand, the educational levels of men show that out of 13 male participants in Kasur, two had no formal education, one had primary, three had middle, five had secondary, none had a BA, two had an MA and none had religious education. In Okara, out of nine men, one had primary, four had middle, three secondary and one had a Masters level. In RYK, out of 12 men, five did not have any education, four had primary, one had middle and two had secondary level of education. No male has attained education in RYK beyond the secondary level. This shows that most participants in the study region lacked higher educational qualifications or the institutionalised cultural capital.

Those women who had attained a primary or middle level of education showed greater aspirations for their daughters' education. For example, a woman (having primary education in Okara) expressed:

There is no comparison between an educated and an uneducated person. If children and particularly girls get education, they can make their life. I am doing embroidery just for my children and especially for my daughters so that they can lead a comfortable life and should not be denied education. I want them to study as much they can.

Another woman (having middle education in Kasur) said:

My daughter wants to become a bank employee after she finishes her Bachelor's degree in computer sciences. Her cousin inspires her and even if incentive is not given, even then we will definitely send our daughter to school in all circumstances.

However, women having secondary education or beyond placed a much higher value on their girls' schooling. For instance, a woman (having secondary education in Kasur) said:

I always wished to study more, beyond Higher Secondary School (that is Grade 12 in Pakistan). I envy those who have studied up to Masters Level. I was married early when I was in grade 10. Since then I always had a remorse that why I left and why I was married so early that I could not appear even in my Matriculation examination (equal to GCSE in UK). It was

Chapter 6: Research Findings: Rights to and Rights within Education

my Mathematics exam when I was married. However, my daughters now want to become doctors and they have high aspirations for their future. Moreover, I will try my best to fulfil their dreams even if we are not given any financial incentive.

This shows that a greater impact of mother's education on the schooling of girls supports the case for more public investments in female schooling since the intergenerational effects of such investments will reduce the gender gaps in schooling (Glick and Sahn 2000). However, in some cases, it was noted that the support for girls' education was related not only with the education of mothers but with the education of the father as well. The male participants having a secondary level of education and beyond were more inclined towards their daughter's education. For example, a man (having secondary education in Kasur) said:

I will let my daughter finish her education first then I will think about her dowry. I understand what is better for my daughter that is why I am doing much hard work for my daughter's education. She can also enter formal labour market. I will not have any objection.

Another man (having secondary education in Okara) used to buy extra reading materials (for instance children's magazines) for his daughter. However, this kind of support was unusual. Thus, girls' educational opportunities were strongly linked with their parents' education. In most contexts, mothers' educational level had considerable influence and in other, it was fathers' education that supported girls' education.

Women in the sample who had no formal education, also acknowledged the value of educating their daughters, yet their acknowledgement was related to their own educational disadvantage due to different reasons such as the cost of schooling and/or early marriage. From their own experiences, they realised an educational deficit and the resultant problems in their lives particularly poverty and social prestige. As one woman (in Okara) said:

I spent my whole life with an uneducated person and it was very hard for me to live with him. I know how I lived my life and how I am living now. My husband has no wisdom and understanding of anything. He only wants that what he is saying everyone should listen and pay heed to it. He never wants to listen against his wishes.

Another woman (in Kasur) expressed:

My father wanted me to study while I never thought about the benefits of education. Now I realize and want to do something for my children as the educated persons earn respect in

society. There is no respect for an uneducated person in the society. Only education gives you respect and I now want my children to lead a respectable life. My brother migrated from village to the city and rented a house just to educate his children. They are all well respected in the community now. I want my daughters to study up to a Masters level.

One woman (in RYK) said:

We are uneducated people. There is no tradition of giving education to females in our family. We migrated to Karachi for employment where we saw another world. Then we realised that what is the importance of education. Now I want that my daughters should be educated so that they can survive in this world and make their lives better than mine.

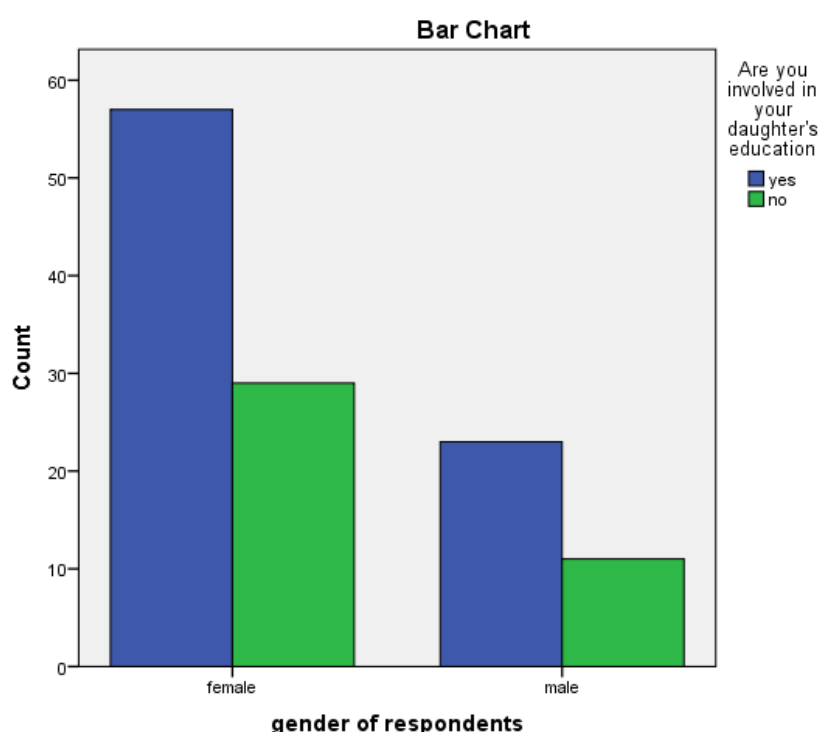
The reasons for not completing their own education varied in the sample. For most women, it was the cost or their early marriage while for men it was earning a livelihood or supporting their family in situations of poverty or the death of the head of household. For instance, one man (in Okara) had to quit education due to the sudden death of his father. This shows the patriarchal gender order/regimes of Pakistan where a son is expected to take over the responsibility to provide for their families. Moreover, the majority of men in the sample did not express any remorse about leaving education nor did they cherish any desire to continue it from the level where they left¹⁶².

It is, therefore, seen that parental cultural capital also influenced girls' *right to education*. The higher the parents' cultural capital (or education), the greater will be the demand for girls' schooling. Since the majority of women in the sample were confined to domestic sphere (unpaid work), this does have vital implications for girls' education (the education level of mother is strongly correlated with the education of next generation and particularly of girls). Moreover, it affects the capability to break the vicious circle of intergenerational deprivations if females are not in a sound bargaining and fall-back position, for instance to bargain for their daughters' education or to use their own cultural capital to support girls' schooling. In this way, the unequal distribution of cultural capital may contribute to sustain class and gender inequalities in the education sector.

¹⁶² Except for a few participants, the majority did not express their views openly regarding their own education. They were also very cautious in giving their responses. They may have been over-burdened with their breadwinning responsibilities, had accepted their lot, or alternatively they were saving faces in the eyes of interviewers.

Another dimension of capital (see Chapter 3) that is the emotional capital (or gendered work) surfaced in this research. This is related to the parental involvement in children's education particularly mothering and girls' education. Overwhelmingly, this job fell on the shoulders of mothers in the sample and men depended upon their wives for this purpose. Participants were asked to explain their level and kind of involvement in their daughter's education. Figure 6.4 shows that out of total 87 women, 58 were involved in their daughter's education while 29 were not. Out of total 33 men, 22 were involved while 11 were not involved in their daughter's education.

Figure 6.4: Parental involvement in daughter's education



Mothers who had a secondary or higher level of education and were living in the semi-urban areas of the study region provided a supportive and facilitating environment to their daughters. They helped them with their homework, pushed them to study properly, arranged tuition for them and spared them from household labour to improve their educational outcomes. These mothers also met the teachers of their girls to enquire about their progress. In this way, mothers were making a conscious effort to shape the educational experience of their daughters to be different from their own experience. The following statements of the female participants are indicative:

- Female (having secondary education in Kasur): “I teach them, help them in preparing for tests, look after their meals and try to solve their problems particularly education related”.
- Female (having a BA): I help my daughter in her homework particularly in her preparation for the exams and try to fulfil all her educational needs. I regularly attend meetings with her teacher in order to follow her progress.
- Female (having an MA in Kasur): I teach her and monitor her work on regular basis. I encourage her to discuss all her problems and needs with me. I maintain a liaison with her teacher so that I should be aware of her progress.

On the other hand, women without formal education or with a primary level of education living in the rural areas of study region were unable to support their daughters in the way their urban peers were doing. For instance, a woman (having no education, in Kasur) said that her son was employed in an academy¹⁶³ and she usually asked him to take his sister along with him. Two women (having primary education in Okara and RYK) said that they only instruct their daughters *to sit and study well*.

Fathers’ involvement in their daughters’ education was limited as they reported work constraints. For instance, one man (having secondary education in Kasur) said that he was doing long hours (*in his shop*) for his daughter’s education and provided her with all financial support. Only three men (having an MA, two in Kasur and one in Okara) helped their daughters with their homework. As already mentioned above that there was only one man (having secondary education in Okara), who bought extra reading material (children’s magazines) for his daughter to supplement the curriculum. Moreover, 11 men who were not involved in their daughter’s education mentioned their time constraints.

Thus, participants from the ‘lower’ and ‘very low’ income groups were at a disadvantage in facilitating their daughters’ educational outcomes as compared to the participants belonging to ‘lower middle’ and ‘middle’ income groups. In addition, participants’ cultural capital (by gender) was also shaping their daughters’ *right to education*.

¹⁶³ An academy is a private tuition centre in Pakistan

Other than the economic and cultural capitals discussed above, the social capital of parents (their networks and connections) is also vital in supporting girls' education. This is described in the next section.

Parental social capital and girls' education

Chapter 3 discussed that other than the economic and cultural capital, social capital (network and connections) can be used to back up the economic and social yield of educational qualification (Bourdieu 1986). Although the relationship of social capital with economic and cultural capital is tenuous, high status families often use their social capital to help their children's educational and labour market success (Martin 2006). Moreover, parental networks and connections are also vital in providing children and particularly girls with some role models (such as teachers or educated relatives in the families or in the neighbourhood) to aspire for their own educational achievements. For instance, Byun et al. (2012) investigated the relationship between social capital and educational aspirations of rural youth that how the bonds between parents and schools as well as teachers' expectations from students can facilitate educational outcomes of children. Therefore, participants were posed the following questions:

- ❖ Do you have any social network or connections in your neighbourhood or community to support girls' education?
- ❖ Does your daughter have a role model in the family or neighbourhood who inspires her?

Their responses are shown in Table 6.11.

Table 6.11: Participants' social capital

Region		Does your daughter have any role model in the family or neighbourhood		Total
		Yes	No	
Kasur	middle income	1	0	1
	lower middle income	6	0	6
	low income	14	12	26
	very low income	15	12	27
	Total	36	24	60
Okara	lower middle income	2	1	3
	low income	10	7	17
	very low income	7	3	10
RYK	Total	19	11	30
	low income	5	17	22
	very low income	7	1	8
Total	Total	12	18	30
	middle income	1	0	1
	lower middle income	8	1	9
	low income	29	36	65
	very low income	29	16	45
Total		67	53	120

Out of total 120 participants, 53 did not have connections in their neighbourhood from where they could draw support for their girls' education. Neither they had any role models in their families who could inspire their daughters such as relatives or friends working as professionals. Out of these 53 participants, the majority belonged to 'low' (36) and 'very low' income (16) groups. A total of 67 participants mentioned some sort of social capital; 61 participants said that their daughters aspire to the educational profile of their cousins (who were older than their daughters and were in higher education), their aunts and uncles (as some of them were teachers, lecturers and doctors), and their older brother and sisters. Out of these 67, the majority were from 'low' (29) and 'very low' (29) income groups. Some parents shared that their

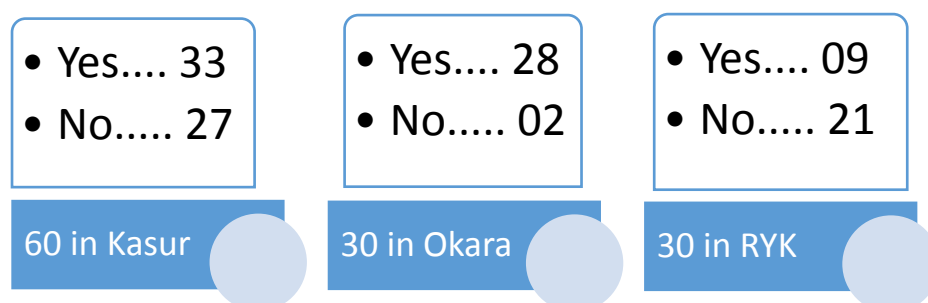
daughters want to become a doctor, judge, nurse or pilot, however, a majority expressed that their daughters wanted to become teachers. It shows that for majority of respondents' daughters, their teacher was their role model being the first contact outside their families. Only six participants said that they had some role model in their neighbourhood (some persons working as nurses and bankers). This form of capital was a source of inspiration for the girls, as expressed by their parents.

As a form of social capital, the local communities are a powerful resource that can be utilized not only to improve the educational delivery but it can also become the core agent of the education delivery (Uemura 1999). Moreover, community support for girls' education could be potentially important in the most remote, conservative and under-developed areas like the district of RYK. In the context of Pakistan, the community consisted of local politicians in the study region called *Councillors*, the influential persons such as *Lambardars* (small landlords), tribal and big landlords (*Waderas*), religious leaders (*Imam masjid*) and women in the neighbourhood. In this vein, participants were asked to respond to the following question:

- ❖ Does your community support girls' education?

Figure 6.5 shows their responses.

Figure 6.5: Participants' responses about community support for girls' education



In Kasur, out of 60 participants, 33 said that the local community supports girls' education while 27 disagreed. In Okara only two participants said that community does not encourage girls' schooling. RYK had the least support of community as shared by 21 participants. The participants who mentioned community support could not elaborate it further as to what kind of support they think it was. None of the participants said that the local religious leaders offer any support for girls' education. The participants who disagreed said that their community (the local political leaders, tribal lords and neighbours) were not concerned about girl's education. For example, three women (in Kasur) said:

- The local political leaders do not do much for girls' education in their area.
- The landlords only think about themselves and their own benefits.
- They actually do not want to do anything; rather they want to take all what we have.

In rural RYK two men said:

The tribal lords do not favour girls' education which they should do as their duty towards us. We do not have any hopes from them. No one bothers here. Everyone is responsible for one's own children.

The tribal lords should support girls' education. They should visit schools and check all facilities and monitor schools themselves. If they do not support girls' education themselves then what should we expect from them.

A woman (in RYK) also reported the fear of local tribal heads and landlords (*waderas*) or their agents, who sometime harass girls on their way to school. In addition, two women (in Kasur), one woman (in Okara) and one male (in RYK) said about their neighbours:

Our neighbours feel jealous that all our children are going to school.

Moreover, poor people around us say that education makes girls free, corrupt and immoral. They should not be highly educated as it is of no use to them. They should not be allowed to do jobs.

In our neighbourhood people say that it is useless to educate girls. People do not support girls' education here as they should be.

One woman (in RYK) said:

People say do not provide higher education to girls. They demand their rights, become immoral, exercise their free will in marriage and ask to study more. People say it is useless to study. English education corrupts the mind of girls.

Thus, it is seen that Kasur and RYK lacked community support for girls' education. It did not only convey bad messages but in certain contexts, like rural RYK, it was actually undermining girls' right to education in terms of threats to their access.

The analysis so far reveals that participants belonging to the 'middle income groups' and possessing some educational levels (that is economic and cultural capital), were more supportive towards girls' education. On the other hand, participants from the 'low', 'very low' and 'lower middle' income groups lacking cultural capital, adhered to gender norms and socio-cultural practices such as son preference, gender roles, saving for dowry, early marriages of girls and disapproval of their labour force participation¹⁶⁴. Thus, household-level characteristics (based on Bourdieu's notions of habitus and capitals) shaped girls' access to education. However, the factors at the level of institutional provision also influence girls' rights to and rights within education. These are discussed in the next section.

6.2. Institutional Factors influencing Girls' *Right to* and *Right within* Education

Chapter Three presented some empirical evidence regarding institutional provision of educational services influencing girls' access and participation in education, such as the availability and proximity of girls' schools, quality of schools and lack of labour market opportunities. There were 15 survey items relating to institutional provision¹⁶⁵, however, I decided it was not appropriate to analyse each item independently. I used factor analysis in SPSS to group the items in factors which were most correlated. The

¹⁶⁴ See Table 4 at Appendix 10 which shows participants' responses by their class and educational background.

¹⁶⁵ For example, questions on parents' ability to afford their daughter's education after the launch of the GSP, availability of girls' school (on the basis of distance from home to school less than one km which is equal to 0.6 miles), safety of girls on their way to school and inside the school, school facilities (proper building, boundary wall, drinking water, separate toilets), availability of teachers, overcrowding in the classrooms, relation of the curriculum with formal labour market, role of teachers and school and parent-teacher interaction.

following Table 6.12 shows the KMO result¹⁶⁶ which gave a measure of .648. This was an adequate measure to proceed with factor analysis¹⁶⁷.

Table 6.12: KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.648
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	446.464
	Df	105
	Sig.	.000

The results from the PCA ¹⁶⁸ are provided in Table 6.13.

¹⁶⁶ A KMO test was performed to check the suitability of data to continue with factor analysis and to measure the sampling adequacy and the correlation of variables.

¹⁶⁷ A measure of .5 or higher is considered a satisfactory value.

¹⁶⁸ Principal Component Analysis (PCA) analyses the total variance in all the variables and explains the maximum amount of variance by minimum number of underlying factors. Some factors explain more variance than others explain and helps in deciding which factors to take. Three sources of information in principal component analysis help in deciding about the retaining of factors: amount of variance explained by the factors, Eigenvalue of each factor 1 or higher and Scree Plot in which the Eigenvalue is shown on a graph (Hinton et al. 2014).

Table 6.13: Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	3.306	22.040	22.040	3.306	22.040	22.040	2.757	18.382	18.382
2	2.007	13.383	35.423	2.007	13.383	35.423	2.176	14.509	32.891
3	1.812	12.077	47.501	1.812	12.077	47.501	1.699	11.330	44.220
4	1.317	8.779	56.280	1.317	8.779	56.280	1.595	10.631	54.851
5	1.138	7.585	63.865	1.138	7.585	63.865	1.352	9.014	63.865
6	.870	5.801	69.666						
7	.780	5.197	74.863						
8	.654	4.360	79.224						
9	.630	4.197	83.421						
10	.550	3.669	87.089						
11	.494	3.292	90.381						
12	.486	3.242	93.623						
13	.406	2.707	96.330						
14	.339	2.261	98.591						
15	.211	1.409	100.000						

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

The PCA produced five factors having an eigenvalue greater than 1 (shown in **Initial Eigenvalue Total** column). The **% of Variance** column shows the variance which an individual variable can explain. There are 7 factors that explained variance more than 5% (a cut off point for a factor to be considered an important underlying factor). The **Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings** column is showing the same values as in the **Initial Eigenvalue Total** column; however, it shows only five factors that have an Eigenvalue more than 1. The last column, **Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings**, rotated the Eigenvalue and variance explained by each factor but the value of total variance remained the same. Based on an Eigenvalue of more than 1, I decided to

choose five factors¹⁶⁹. As I selected the PCA with **Varimax** rotation, the **Rotated Component Matrix** in Table 6.14 below gives a clearer picture in terms of factor loadings which shows how different variables loaded on to different factors. While completing the factor analysis procedure, the absolute value for factor loadings was suppressed to .4 which implies that only those variables that have high loadings onto each other (greater than .4) will be shown in the rotated component matrix. This helped to make interpretation of factors easy.

Table 6.14: Rotated Component Matrix

	Component				
	1	2	3	4	5
schooling of daughter is affordable	-.731				
school of daughter too far (more than 1KM)				.691	
journey to school is safe (harassment issue)	-.416	.485			.547
daughter is safe in school (bullying)					.804
school has proper building and boundary wall	.763				
drinking water is available in school	.797				
separate toilets for girls available in school	.657				
classroom is overcrowded	.771				
daughter is taught by female teachers	.458				
curriculum has no relevance with formal labour market			.743		
daughter has to do errand tasks (cleaning, cooking, stitching) in school			.437	.574	
teacher gives daughter proper attention		.749			
teacher has low opinion about daughter ability				.695	
daughter teacher is her role model		.729			
Parents' meetings are held to discuss progress of daughter		.734			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.^a

a. Rotation converged in 11 iterations.

Based on the factor loading on each factor in Table 6.14, they were labelled as follows.

- **Factor 1-** Physical quality of schools
- **Factor 2-** Role of teachers and school
- **Factor 3-** Curriculum and the labour market

¹⁶⁹ These are also visually depicted in a **Scree Plot**. See Figure 1 in Appendix 10.

- **Factor 4-** Distance to schools
- **Factor 5-** Girls' safety and sexual harassment issues

The first three factors are related to *rights within* education and the last two factors related to girls' *rights to* education. These five factors are analysed in the next section.

6.2.1. Factor 1: Physical quality of Schools

This factor included the infrastructure and school facilities such as proper buildings, drinking water, separate toilets, overcrowding in the classrooms and availability of female teachers for girl students. The school staff in the study regions was all female, therefore, the item regarding the availability of female teachers in the schools was dropped in the analysis of Factor 1. Chapter 3 discussed that the perceptions of parents about the value of education are strongly influenced by the quality of schools (Razzaq 2015). In developing countries, most public schools are short of basic facilities like proper building with boundary walls, separate girls' toilets, drinking water and learning equipment in the classrooms. Quite often, children are squeezed into overcrowded classrooms. This situation is aggravated when schools are not located near girls' homes and when there is a shortage of female teachers for girl students (King and Winthrop 2015). Therefore, participants were asked to show their agreement levels regarding the following statements about school facilities.

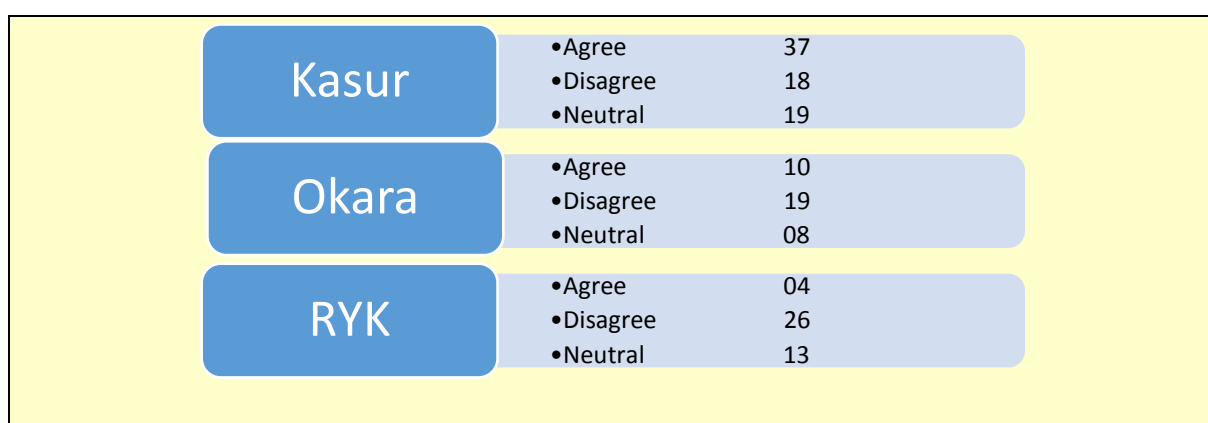
1. The school has a proper building and boundary wall.
2. The drinking water is available in the school.
3. There are separate toilets for girls in the school.
4. The classrooms are overcrowded.

Their responses are shown in Table 6.15.

Table 6.15: Participants' views regarding school facilities

Region	Proper building and boundary wall			Drinking water			Separate toilets for girls		
	agree	disagree	neutral	agree	disagree	neutral	agree	disagree	neutral
Kasur	58	1	1	56	3	1	55	3	1
Okara	22	8	0	23	6	1	26	3	0
RYK	29	1	0	12	18	0	30	0	0
Total	109	10	1	91	27	2	111	6	1

The above table shows that 58 participants in Kasur, 22 in Okara and 29 in RYK (a total of 109 out of 120 participants) agreed that their daughter's school had a proper building and a boundary wall. However, one participant in Kasur, eight in Okara and one in RYK disagreed with the statement. They said that the school does not have enough space for classrooms and playground for the students. The shortage of space in schools leads to overcrowding in the existing classrooms. One woman (No.4 in Kasur) stated that girls in two grades were taught in one classroom. Figure 6.6 below shows that 37 participants in Kasur, 10 in Okara and 04 in RYK (total 51) agreed that the classrooms were overcrowded¹⁷⁰. A total of 63 participants disagreed that classrooms were overcrowded whereas 40 participants remained neutral.

Figure 6.6: Participants' views about overcrowding in classrooms

¹⁷⁰ This may be due to the increased enrolment of girls due to the GSP.

Regarding the availability of drinking water in girls' schools, 56 participants in Kasur, 23 in Okara and 12 in RYK (total 91) agreed with the statement. However, three participants in Kasur and six in Okara were not satisfied with the available drinking water in schools and provided their daughters with bottled water from home. In RYK, 18 participants reported the non-availability of drinking water in school. The facility of separate toilets for girls in their schools was confirmed by 111 participants out of total 120¹⁷¹. However, some of the participants expressed concern about the state of cleanliness of the toilets: the toilets of the teachers were clean as compared to the toilets meant for girl students¹⁷².

6.2.2: Factor 2: Role of teachers and school

Chapter Three discussed that schools also operate as those sites where dominant social norms are inculcated in students from disadvantaged backgrounds as well as in females (Ames 2012a). The pervasiveness of these norms leads women to internalise negative perceptions about themselves and to doubt their own abilities. Girls receive many 'messages' from home and community which lead them to quit school. This may lead to their self-exclusion even if opportunities are available to them by informally placing barriers to their participation (Subrahmanian 2005). Teachers' negative attitudes and perceptions about girls' capabilities have strong impact on their education. For instance, girls are considered less ambitious and intellectual while boys are considered highly motivated and superior in intellect as well as serious about their future (Subrahmanian 2003 cited in GCE 2005), hence they receive more attention of teachers in the classrooms. The participants were asked to show their agreement with the following statements:

¹⁷¹ Although the schools were single-sex schools, the toilets for teachers and for the girls were separate. Moreover, other than the school facilities, some participants expressed their concerns regarding supply of electricity in Kasur and RYK. I also observed this during my visit to Okara and RYK schools where girls and all school staff were attending schools in scorching heat with no electricity (due to load-shedding hours) and when the temperature was at 45 Celsius. One man in Okara also expressed the demand for a canteen in school.

¹⁷² Other than these basic school facilities, I observed that there were no libraries and computer labs in schools; neither were the students involved in any learning projects. Neither there were any grounds for sports. The school teachers particularly in Kasur and RYK were unimpressive, lacking in enthusiasm for the teaching profession (perhaps their age was one of the factor).

- ❖ The teacher gives your daughter proper attention.
- ❖ Parents meetings are held to discuss the progress of your daughter.

Their responses are shown in Table 6.16.

Table 6.16: Participants' views regarding the role of teacher

Region	Teacher gives daughter proper attention			Parents meetings are held to discuss the progress of daughter		
	agree	disagree	neutral	agree	disagree	neutral
Kasur	54	1	5	50	6	4
Okara	24	5	1	29	1	0
RYK	26	2	2	22	1	7
Total	104	8	8	101	8	11

Out of 120 participants, 104 agreed that the teacher of their daughter gave her proper attention. A total of 101 participants agreed that meetings were held with the teachers to discuss the progress of their daughter. As already discussed, this job fell overwhelmingly on the shoulders of mothers in the sample. Although majority of parents were satisfied with the role of teachers and their interaction with the teachers while discussing the progress of their daughters, they also mentioned that their daughters were asked to do errands in the schools. For instance, 36 participants in Kasur, six in Okara and four in RYK (46 total) reported the practice of cleaning the classrooms by girls before the start of school¹⁷³ (see Figure 2 at Appendix 10).

6.2.3. Factor 3: Curriculum and the labour market

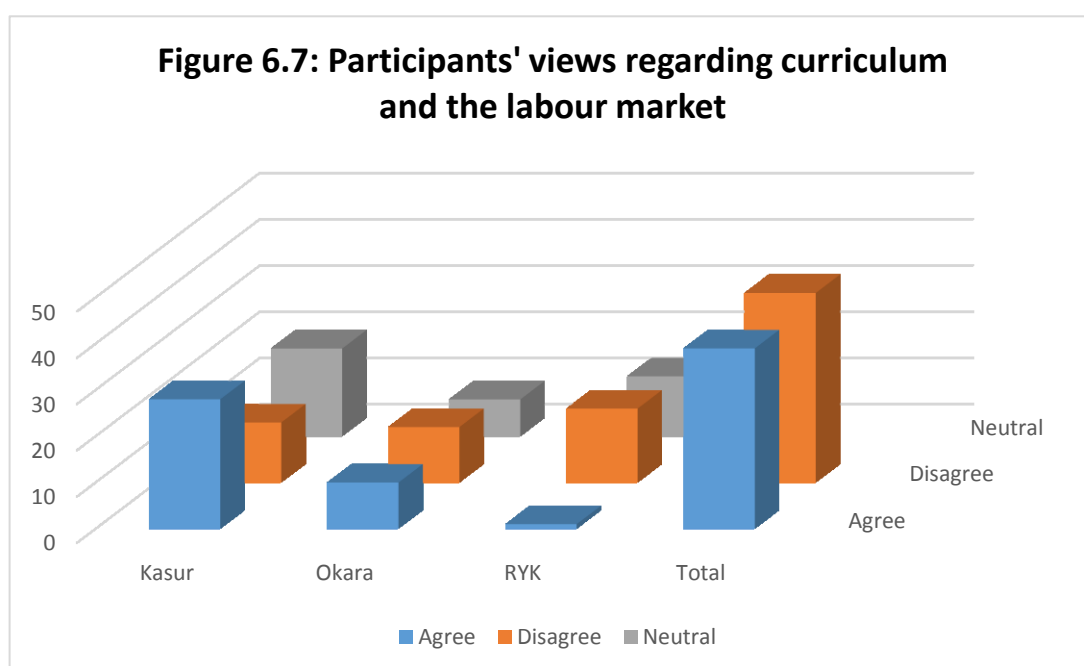
Keeping in view the demands of today's knowledge economy, the alignment of the curriculum with the labour market is a hot issue in developed countries (King and Winthrop 2015). Education is not only about enrolling children in schools but also to

¹⁷³ The girls took this job in turn. For this, they had to wake up early and leave for school early. Participants expressed their concerns regarding this issue and said that the school administration should hire staff specifically for this job. There was a shortage of cleaning staff in the schools particularly in Kasur where this was an important issue for majority of participants. This shows the reinforcement of gender role ideology even inside the school where girls are expected to take on cleaning tasks from early on, and without pay.

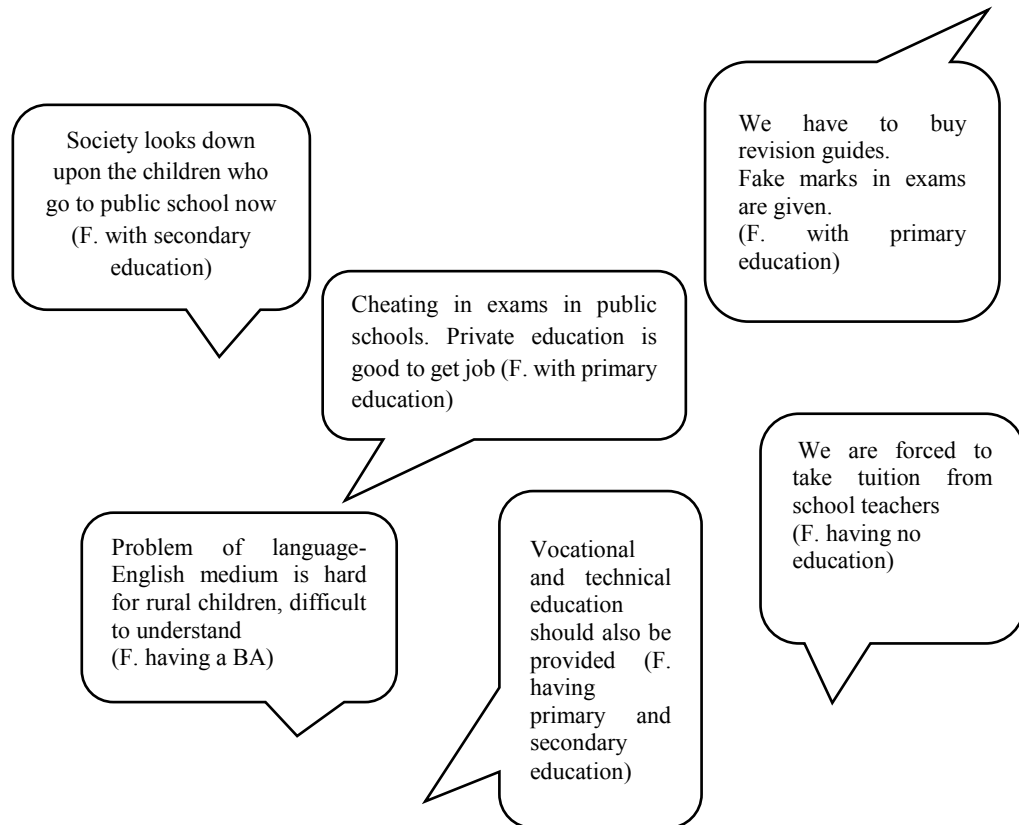
provide them with opportunities to find decent work and to help countries to train the workforce required for the global economy. This could be possible if the curriculum is diversified and cater to a wide range of interests and the demands of the labour market (UNESCO 2012). In this context, participants were asked to express their levels of agreement about the following statement:

- ❖ The curriculum has no relevance to the labour market.

Figure 6.7 shows their responses.



The above figure shows that 28 participants in Kasur, ten in Okara and one in RYK (total 39) agreed that the curriculum taught in the public schools was not relevant to the labour market. Some verbatim quotes are presented below as examples:



On the other hand, 13 participants in Kasur, 12 in Okara and 16 in RYK (total 41) disagreed with the statement and showed their satisfaction with the public schools' curriculum. Participants who remained neutral numbered 19 in Kasur, 08 in Okara and 13 in RYK (total 40). Their neutrality indicated that they did not have enough knowledge about the curriculum. This might be due to their own educational level. The participants also expressed their concern regarding the availability of labour market opportunities that were available to the students who graduated from private sector schools. They also demanded that the government should provide jobs to their children as well after completion of their schooling.

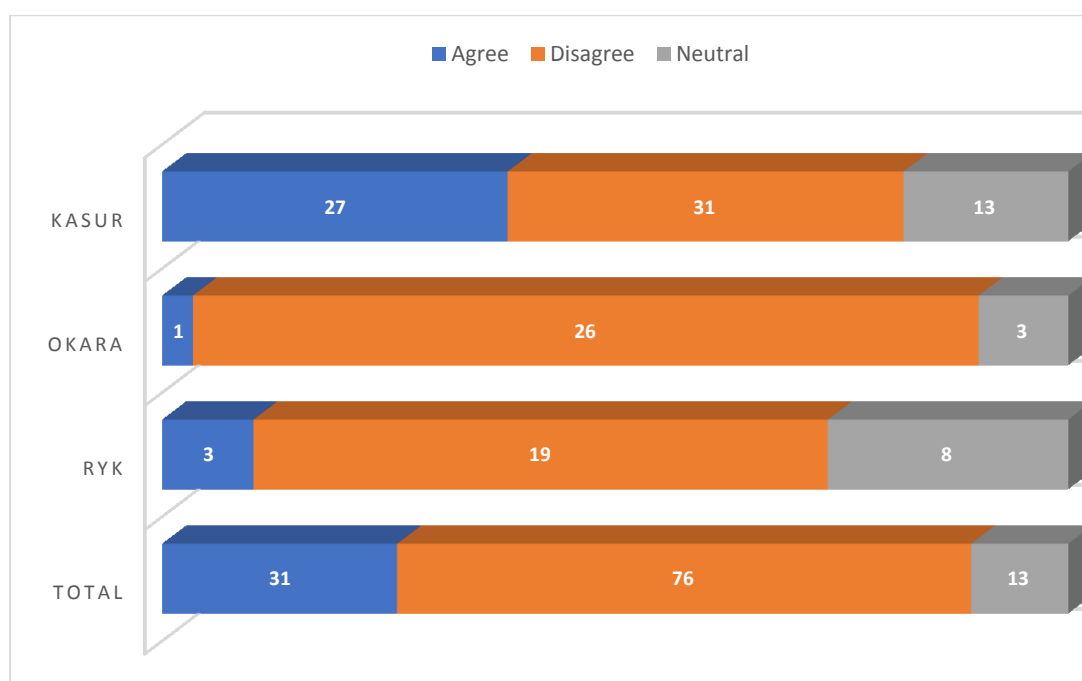
6.2.4: Factor 4: Distance to school

Although parents want their daughters to be in schools, they want the schools to be near their homes so that the girls may not face harassment on their way to school, they do not have to travel long journeys over main roads or through regions controlled by different clans and tribes in rural areas (see Chapters 3 and 4). The participants were asked the following statement:

- ❖ The school of your daughter is too far from your home (more than 1 km=0.6 miles).

Figure 6.8 shows that for 31 participants, the school of their daughter was more than 1 km (0.6 mile) away, for 76 participants it was near their home while 13 remained neutral.

Figure 6.8: Participants views regarding distance to girls' school

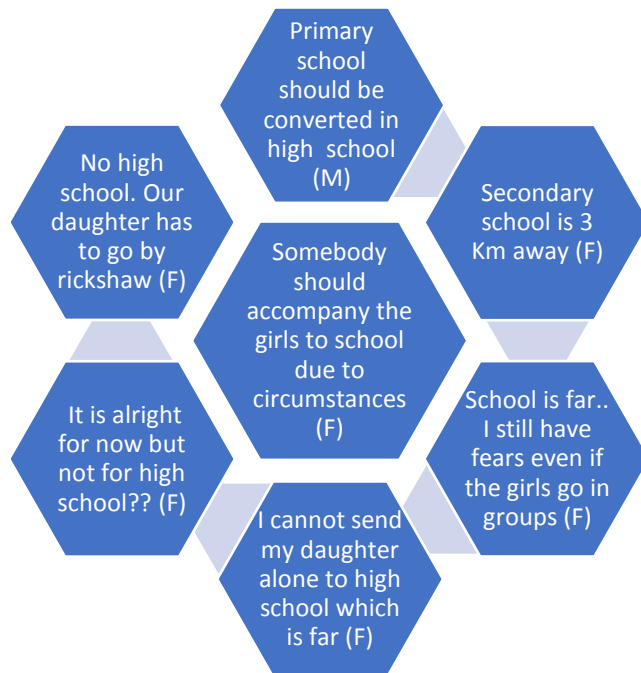


It is pertinent to mention here that since the participants were the parents of those girls who were enrolled in Grade 8 (middle school); their views were related only to that school. However, a majority expressed concerns regarding the distance of high schools (Grade 9-10), higher secondary (Grade 11-12) and colleges in their respective areas. The distance to the higher education institutions have potential implications for girls' further education beyond the middle level of schooling since parents were reluctant to send their daughters alone to schools after travelling a long distance¹⁷⁴. Participants even did not allow their daughters in the middle schools to travel alone; some family member accompanied them to school or they travelled in groups. Most of the participants suggested that the government should either increase the stipend money

¹⁷⁴ This is further discussed in Chapter 8 where the dropout is shown due to distance to high school.

or arrange for the transport to schools. Some participants recommended the upgrading of existing primary or middle schools to the secondary schools or colleges so that their daughters would not travel long distance for higher education. Some remarks of the participants are shown in the Figure 6.9.

Figure 6.9: Participants’ remarks about distance to girls’ school



6.2.5. Factor 5: Safety and sexual harassment issues

Chapters 3 and 4 discussed that the perceptions and attitudes toward female mobility exert significant influence on girls’ access to educational services (Razzaq 2015). In this vein, following statements were posed to the participants to show their agreement levels.

- ❖ The journey of your daughter to school is safe
- ❖ Your daughter feels safe inside the school

The responses are shown in Table 6.17.

Table 6.17: Participants' views regarding their daughters' safety and harassment issues

Region	Daughter's journey to school is safe			Daughter is safe inside the school		
	agree	disagree	neutral	agree	disagree	neutral
Kasur	37	12	11	57	3	0
Okara	28	1	1	29	1	0
RYK	12	1	17	30	0	0
Total	77	14	29	116	4	0

Out of 120 participants, 116 agreed that their daughter was safe inside the school. In Kasur 37 participants, 28 in Okara and 12 in RYK agreed that the journey of their daughters to school was safe as either someone from family accompanied them or they travelled with their friends. Whereas, 12 participants in Kasur, one in Okara and one in RYK disagreed with the statement. A total of 11 participants in Kasur, one in Okara and 17 in RYK remained neutral. Those participants who disagreed or remained neutral regarding the safety of their daughters while travelling to school expressed similar concerns. For instance, some participants said:

- Somebody should accompany girls to school due to circumstances. Society is getting astray, therefore, Islamic education is compulsory particularly about how to take *dupatta* (head covering).
- We have many fears; therefore, girls should not go alone. I still have fears in my heart even if they go in groups. Society is rotten. One should be very careful.
- I go myself with my daughter to drop her off to school. She is afraid of some young boys standing in the street.
- I will not send my daughter alone. Men and young boys standing in the streets cast bad eyes on them and sometimes intimidate as well.
- Girls' safety is very important. I cannot send her alone. Men do not have shame in their eyes.
- I cannot send my daughter alone to school. Her respect and honour (verbatim virginity) is very important which cannot be compromised.

These remarks corroborate what Connell (1987: 133) said, that the “street ... is a zone of occupation by men” and “the effective alternative is the home: A woman’s place”. Thus, the street and public space work as a structure of power (Connell 1987) which may undermine girls’ *right to education* (access) leading them to drop out. Thus, the location of schools at more than 1km (0.6 miles) has serious implications for girls’ education as the safety of girls on their way to school and the availability of high schools near their homes was particularly important for many participants.

6.3. Conclusion

This chapter has presented research findings related to the household and institutional level factors that influenced girls’ *rights to education*. The factors at the level of households included the socio-economic characteristics of the sample defined in terms of Bourdieusian notions of habitus and capitals (i.e. economic capital as their monthly incomes and occupations; cultural capital as their educational levels and attitudes to gender norms and socio-cultural practices and their networks and connections as social capital). The analysis of survey data revealed that parental attitudes regarding girls’ education were positive in the study region. Most of the male and female participants realised the importance of educating their daughters, however, with a lesser amount of economic capital, the very poor, poor and lower middle-income groups were struggling to finance their daughters’ schooling. This situation was partially mediated by the GSP; however, concerns were also shown that the amount of stipend was insufficient. The differences in cultural capital of the participants revealed that those had attained secondary level of education had high aspiration for their daughters’ education. This showed that the school trajectories of girls are shaped by parental resources (economic, cultural and social capital). The economic capital is particularly important for girls’ probability of remaining in school. Those parents who had some educational levels were prone to retain girls in upper secondary education. This reflects that girls belonging to an advantaged socio-economic background were in a better position to continue their education as compared to those belonging to a disadvantaged background.

Mothers' involvement in their daughters' education as supporters and facilitators was noted. Yet, access to networks with female role models to aspire was limited as half of the participants lacked in social capital such as networks and connections in the families, neighbourhood and community. The role model which was most aspired to was girls' school teacher. A substantial number of participants adhered to the gender norms and socio-cultural practices either due to their socialisation processes or due to societal and community pressures. Male domination in decision-making about the marriage and education of their daughters was noted as well as the complicity of women in maintaining discrimination against their own gender which was mainly due to their lesser levels of various types of capital or a weak fallback position and bargaining power (see Chapter 7). Overall, the district of Okara emerged as pro-girls' education having participants favouring girls' education. The district of Kasur remained average while the district of RYK attached less value to girls' education. Most women in the study region were more enthusiastic as compared to men.

The five extracted factors related to the state provisioning of educational included physical quality of schools (in terms of facilities like boundary wall, drinking water and separate toilets), role of school and teacher, relevance of curriculum with labour market, distance to school and safety issues of girls. Most of the participants agreed about the availability of school facilities, however they mentioned some other issues such as overcrowding in the classrooms, girls doing errands in schools, and the shortage of staff for cleaning the classrooms as well as toilets. Their major concerns were the distance to schools, girls' safety issues and the availability of labour market opportunities. These factors impinged not only upon girls' *right to education* but also girls' *rights within education*.

The next chapter will discuss the perceived impact of GSP on *rights through education* in terms of the development of capabilities.

Chapter 7: Research Findings: Perceptions on Rights through Education

This chapter will evaluate the perceptions about the impact of GSP on girls' *rights through education*. This refers to the outcomes beyond education related to the development of capabilities such as empowerment, bargaining power, participation in household decision-making, the ability to tackling domestic violence, labour market participation and the intergenerational transmission of capital. Section One will discuss the perceptions of parents about these outcomes and their expectations by analysing the extracted factors (through deploying a Factors Analysis technique) relevant to rights through education. Section Two will present the analysis of semi-structured interviews with public sector officials on the perceived impact of the GSP by employing a Framework Approach. Section Three will conclude the chapter.

7.1. Analysis of Extracted Factors: *Rights through Education*

The earlier chapters discussed in length some of the structural causes of gender inequalities, mainly relating them to patriarchal ideologies and practices. These operate in different gender regimes, maintaining and perpetuating women's subordination and hindering their overall participation in society with implications for development outcomes. The capability approach (see Chapter Two) suggests that education, as a capability, is key to the development of other capabilities which, in turn, could bring a change to the structural inventory of patriarchal gender regimes. The *Rights Framework* discussed in Chapter 3 pointed to *rights through education*¹⁷⁵. For instance, empowerment, agency, an improved bargaining power and a sound fall-back position, participation in the household decision-making process, the ability to tackle domestic violence and to join the labour market. It also connotes bringing a change in the patriarchal practices and ideologies, such as the need to continue with dowry practices even with higher educational attainment, and the perceived worth of

¹⁷⁵ *Rights through education* implies "the extent to which education equips young women and men to enjoy equal opportunities leading to equal outcomes beyond education" (Subrahmanian 2007: 30).

an educated female after marriage. Lastly, the intergenerational benefits of female education include its impact on siblings, children and the nations at large.

The following discussion aims to ascertain the perceived effectiveness of the GSP against developmental outcomes. In this study, parents were asked numerous questions to evaluate if educational attainment would enable their daughters to develop the above-mentioned capabilities and whether the perceptions of parents themselves in this context had changed. The survey participants were asked to express their agreement levels regarding the following 13 statements.

1. If your daughter gets primary education, she will get a good job.
2. The secondary level of education will open more economic opportunities for your daughter.
3. If your daughter is educated, you do not need to give dowry for her marriage.
4. An educated daughter can improve her bargaining position in the family after marriage.
5. An educated and earning daughter has a sound fall-back position (in the case of a crisis).
6. An educated daughter can tackle domestic violence.
7. An educated daughter will be an asset to her in-laws.
8. An educated daughter can look after her well-being as well as her children and family.
9. The education of your daughter will have spill over effect in terms of educating the next generation and particularly the girls.
10. If your daughter is educated, she will be more empowered.
11. If your daughter is educated, she can make better decisions about her life.
12. If your daughter is educated, she will become aware of her rights.
13. The education of girls is not only beneficial to them and their families but also to the development of their country.

The factor analysis in SPSS was conducted to group the above statements in a few factors similarly to that discussed in Chapter 6. The KMO value of .839 (see Table 7.1 below) confirmed to proceed with the factor analysis.

Table 7.1: KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.	.839
Approx. Chi-Square	893.035
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity Df	78
Sig.	.000

The results of PCA are shown in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2: Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	5.672	43.630	43.630	5.672	43.630	43.630	3.797	29.207	29.207
2	1.991	15.313	58.943	1.991	15.313	58.943	2.945	22.653	51.860
3	1.027	7.899	66.842	1.027	7.899	66.842	1.948	14.982	66.842
4	.930	7.151	73.993						
5	.839	6.455	80.448						
6	.544	4.182	84.630						
7	.429	3.301	87.931						
8	.388	2.987	90.918						
9	.328	2.523	93.441						
10	.284	2.186	95.627						
11	.278	2.140	97.768						
12	.196	1.510	99.278						
13	.094	.722	100.000						

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

The % of Variance column shows that five factors explained variance more than 5% and only three factors have an Eigenvalue more than 1 as shown in the *Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings* column. The last column *Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings*, shows the rotated eigenvalue and the variance explained by each factor.

Table 7.3 shows the *Rotated Component Matrix* and gives a clearer picture in terms of factor loadings which shows how different variables load on to different factors¹⁷⁶.

¹⁷⁶ While conducting the factor analysis, the absolute value for factor loadings was suppressed to .4 which implies that only those variables that have high loadings onto each other will be shown in the rotated component matrix.

Table 7.3: Rotated Component Matrix^a

	Component		
	1	2	3
1.If your daughter gets primary education she will get a good job			.830
2.Secondary education will open more eco opportunity for your daughter			.842
3.You do not need to give dowry if daughter is educated		.529	
4.An educated daughter can have improved bargaining power in the family	.491		.506
5.An educated daughter has a sound fall-back position	.594		
6.An educated daughter can tackle domestic violence		.818	
7.An educated daughter is an asset to her in-laws		.758	
8.An educated daughter can look after well-being of children and family	.731		
9.Spill-over effect of educated daughter on education of next generation	.787		
10.An educated daughter is more empowered	.539	.708	
11.An educated daughter can make better decision about her life	.569	.673	
12.An educated daughter will be aware of her rights	.778		
13.The education of girls is beneficial for the family as well as the country	.733		

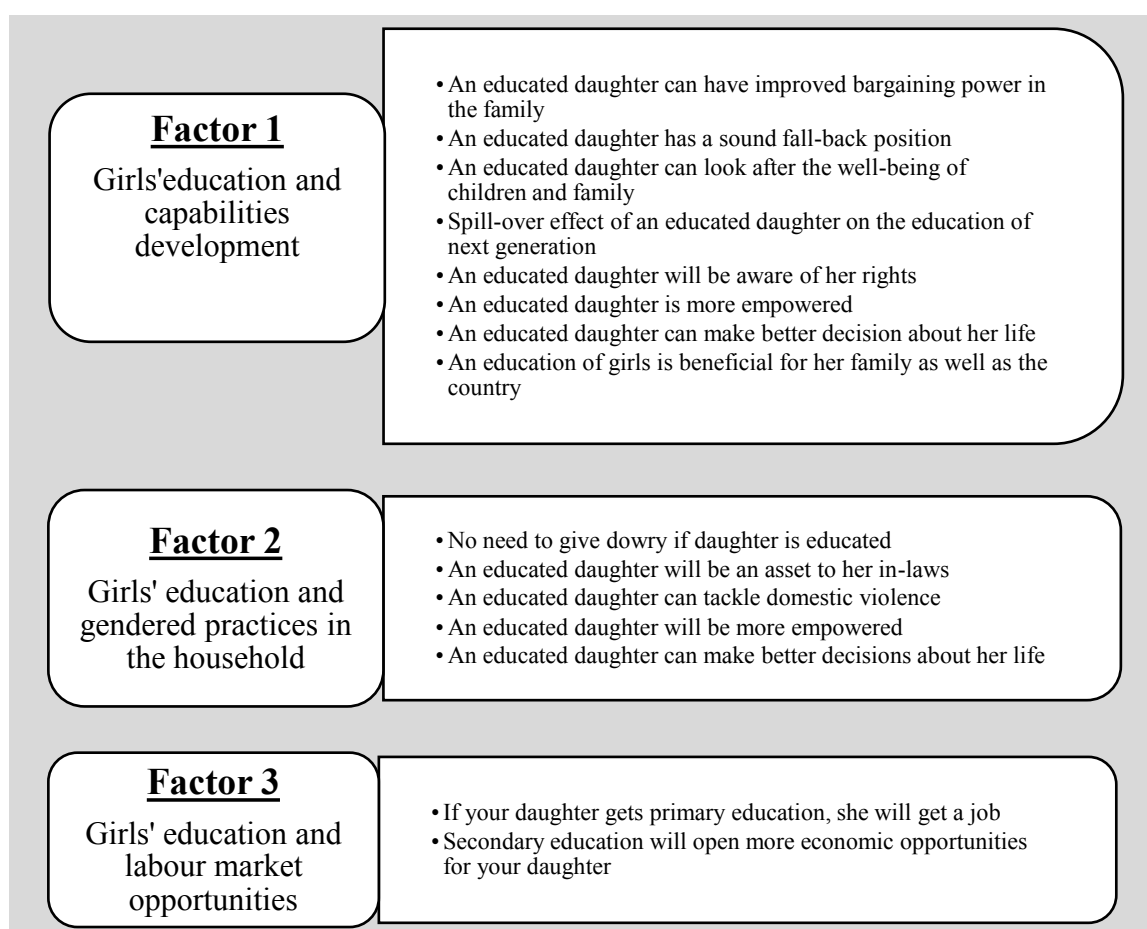
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.^a

a. Rotation converged in 5 iterations.

Eight variables were grouped together in Factor 1, five variables in Factor 2 and two variables in Factor 3. Figure 7.1 provides a depiction of the extracted factors along with their labelling.

Figure 7.1. Factors related to perceived girls' rights through education



Factor 1 is related to the development of capabilities; **Factor 2** is related to familial gendered practices and **Factor 3** is related to the relevance of girls' education to the formal labour market. These factors are discussed in detail the next sections.

7.1.1. Factor 1: Girls' education and capabilities development

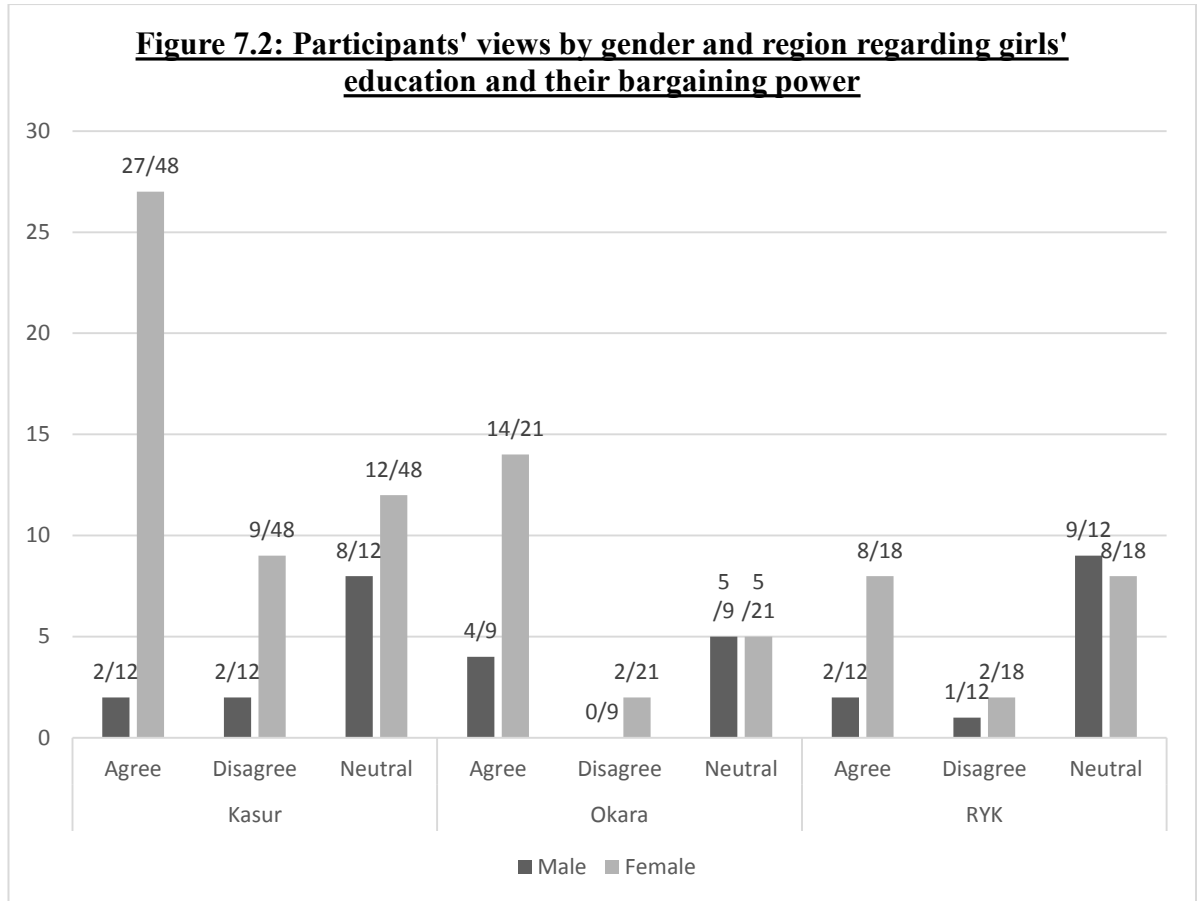
Table 7.3 and the Figure 7.1 above show that the items grouped together in Factor 1 (8 items) were more numerous than the items grouped in Factor 2 (5 items) and Factor 3 (2 items). Therefore, Factor 1 was further classified into three sub-groups: a) the bargaining power and fall-back position of an educated female; b) empowerment, decision-making power and gaining awareness about one's rights after being educated and c) intergenerational benefits of girls' education. Next is a discussion of these sub-groups of Factor 1.

Bargaining power and fall-back position

A family/household is a complex matrix of relationships wherein multiple actors have conflicting interests, preferences, and abilities (see Chapter 4). Further, gender relations in a family/household are characterised by both conflict and cooperation and are maintained by implicit or explicit negotiations between actors (Agarwal 1994). Thus, household members bargain over different outcomes ranging from consumption and expenditure, production, labour allocation, asset ownership, children's health and education, decision-making, and violence within the household (Doss 2011). This process is constrained not only by gender, age, type of relationship and undisputed traditions but also depends upon the differential access of the members of a household to the economic, political, and social power and their relative bargaining power (Agarwal 1994). Resultantly, different outcomes are possible in relation to who does what, who gets what and how a member is treated. Such outcomes (in the case of cooperation) could be beneficial to negotiating parties relative to non-cooperation and some may be more favourable to one party than to the other (ibid). Thus, women's education, income, and assets are considered as important aspects of their bargaining power. An improvement in one indicator denotes an increase in women's bargaining power (Doss 2011). Specially, education plays a crucial part in improving the bargaining power of a woman within households (Seebens 2011). Therefore, participants were asked to express their agreement levels regarding the following statement:

- ❖ An educated daughter can improve her bargaining power in the family.

The responses of the participants are shown in the Figure 7.2.



Out of 48 women in Kasur, 27 agreed that education will improve the bargaining power of their daughter, nine disagreed and 12 remained neutral. In Okara out of 21 women, 14 agreed, two disagreed and five remained neutral. In RYK out of 18 women, eight agreed, two disagreed and eight remained neutral. Out of 12 men in Kasur, two agreed that education will improve the bargaining power of their daughter, two disagreed and eight remained neutral. In Okara, out of nine men, four agreed, none disagreed and five remained neutral. In RYK, out of 12 men, two agreed, one disagreed and nine remained neutral. This shows that as compared to RYK, the participants in Kasur and Okara believed that education will improve the bargaining power of their daughters in families. This is consistent with the research findings presented in Chapter 6 that RYK was not pro girls' education as compared to other two regions. This is also linked with the lesser socio-economic development and the lower adult literacy levels in the district (see Chapter 5).

The number of women who agreed with the statement was greater than men in all three districts. This suggests that women in the sample had an idea, perhaps, of their own limitations in terms of educational disadvantage. These mothers had more aspirations for their daughters for a better quality of life and choice in the lives of their daughters which their educational participation could bring. For instance, a woman (having no education, a homemaker in Kasur) said:

I never had any such desire to study. I never thought about the benefits of education but now I realize and want to do something for my children particularly my daughters as educated persons earn respect in society. It is more important for girls so that their position within the families, before and after marriage gets better.

The above statement shows how mothers' own histories and educational experiences can influence their children's schooling (Reay 2004). In recent years, parental aspirations for their children's education has received considerable attention (Sosu 2014). Such aspirations are particularly important in transmitting parental socio-economic status to the next generation. For a given child, parental aspirations may represent their psychological motivations alongside the future educational attainment of the child (Zhang et al. 2007). Since mothers are the primary care-givers in the households, their gender attitudes and educational aspirations for their children may have a great influence specially on girls' schooling through daily emotional support and the normative discipline which they provide in homes (ibid). In a recent study, Serneels and Dercon (2014) found a strong association between paternal aspirations particularly of mothers and children's educational outcomes. Their findings indicated that maternal aspirations drive household investment in children's education. Moreover, the impact of parental aspirations on educational outcomes is greater for children belonging to a poor socio-economic background and with less-educated mothers. For instance, parents who participated in the Mexican *Progreso*, (a CCT programme), had higher aspirations for their daughters due to their exposure to highly-educated professionals who were executing the programme (Chiapa et al. 2010).

Participants who remained neutral gave other reasons such as: structure of the household, relative agency of women or just being realistic about women's household power. For instance, a woman (having no education, a homemaker in Kasur) said:

Chapter 7: Research Findings: Perceptions on Rights through Education

Improve bargaining position or not? It is a matter of fate. You cannot plan or do anything in advance. If you can make others listen to your voice it means that you are lucky. However, it is very difficult to convince others what do you want. One has to move very tactfully after marriage. In a joint family system, it is not an easy task. There are many members in a joint family and usually, the males have greater say because they earn and are considered wiser.

Some of the participants in RYK were not very clear or convinced about the linkage of education with the bargaining power. For instance, one woman (having no education, working as a cultivator in RYK) said:

So many things matter. Education alone is not enough. Sometimes it becomes impossible to convince others particularly males in the family who think that women are not good at making decisions and judgements. They think that women do not have any experience because they do not know the world outside their homes.

Similarly, another woman (having no education, working on daily wages in RYK) said:

Power? A female has no power... if someone is highly educated, she is considered breaking the rules of the family by expressing her views. She cannot argue... She has to speak very strategically so that no one could get angry. In our society, a female has no place without a family or the support of a male, including our fathers and brothers. To raise our voice means to lose that support... where will we go then?

This reflects women's position in gendered hierarchies and power relations, through the economic power of males (the male breadwinner concept and male control over property) and the dominance of men in decision-making within the households (see Chapter Two; this will be discussed further in the analysis of Factor 2 below). It also shows that women are misrecognised as not being intelligent. They are victims of masculine domination which is symbolic violence "affirmed in the objectivity of the social structures and the productive and reproductive activities" as well as "in the schemes immanent in everyone's habitus" (Bourdieu 2001: 33). In many ways, the everyday lives of women and girls are reflective of the gendered habitus, where gender is constitutive of social relations as Bourdieu (1998: 81) suggests that habitus "is a socialised body... which has incorporated the immanent structures of a world or of a particular sector of that world". The dominated (women in this case), thus, applied categories which the dominant (their husbands and fathers) had constructed and made them appear as natural. This, in turn, led to a "systematic self-depreciation" or "self-denigration (Bourdieu 2001: 33) as the above statements of the female participants show how they expressed their own perceptions of lack of wisdom and power in gender relations. It shows how members of a social group acquire certain dispositions

as a result of their socialization and internalisation which reflect structural elements, such as kinship rules. They then behave in a way which reproduce those structural elements (Nash 1990).

Men as well, in this study, were keen to maintain their dominance. They openly expressed unease at the notion of gender equality or empowering women to participate in decision making in the household. Their facial expressions also showed that they did not like the idea of being on equal footing by women in household relations. For instance, a man (having primary education, a farmer in RYK) said:

Education has its own role and place. It has nothing to do with the authority or any power in the family. A male is always the head of the family. Any woman who argues with him does damage to herself... The final authority is always a male. However, he can listen to the opinion of females in the family. Sometimes they can give good advice. Education opens the mind but it does not mean that an educated female should fight with their males.

Another man (having middle education, a labourer in RYK) said:

We have *Biradari* (kinship) system here. If a woman argues with her male head of the household, everyone would come to know. This becomes very insulting and he cannot show his face to anyone in the *biradari*. Education does not mean that a woman should override the authority of men. She should always obey him as arguments often lead to quarrels and conflicts.

The comments of men and of some women show “the strength of the masculine order... [which dispenses itself] with justification” (Bourdieu 2001: 9). It also shows “the ways in which the socially advantaged... play out attitudes of cultural superiority... in [and through] their habitus” (Reay 2004: 436).

There are many reasons why participants might choose a neutral response. These include ambivalence in choosing between a positive and negative feeling (Nowlis et al. 2002), lack of motivation (Johns 2005) or social desirability, which influences participants’ choice to express socially undesirable opinion (Krosnick et al. 2002). Participants’ neutral responses, if seen along with their comments mentioned above, may support their ambivalence or feelings about social desirability. It may have implications for the bargaining power of a woman which could be overruled by cultural norms and men within households. Chapters 2 and 4 discussed how gendered institutions and patriarchal practices may operate through formal laws (such as

property rights, divorce laws) and/or informal practices (such as the gender division of labour, socio-cultural norms and traditions). In either case, they frame asymmetric bargaining power and may neutralize or limit the bargaining power of women which they acquire from individual resources (that is income, assets, or education), thus affecting not only their exit options but also their own preferences and roles in the household (Mabsout and Staveren 2010; Seebens 2011). For instance, the ideology of male dominance in decision-making and male superiority (men as rational). The patriarchal family system (for instance, kinship structures and relations through the *Biradari* system) was raised as a concern by some female participants in this study. The bargaining power of an individual is often defined by the strength of the fall-back position¹⁷⁷ of a member of a household which is determined by a number of factors¹⁷⁸. Education, income and employment, the legal framework and a person's possibilities for remarriage or financial support from relatives also determine the fall-back position of an individual¹⁷⁹ (Glick and Sahn 2000). These factors impinge directly on a person's ability to fulfil one's needs outside the family. It is assumed that the greater a person's ability to physically survive outside the family, the greater would be her/his bargaining power within the family (Agarwal 1994). Participants were asked to express their agreement levels regarding the following statement:

❖ An educated daughter has a sound fall-back position.

Their responses are shown in Table 7.4.

¹⁷⁷ A fall-back position is the outside option (also called threat points) which determines how well off a person would be if cooperation is ceased and the degree to which a member's claim is seen socially and legally legitimate. Agarwal (1994; 1997) has defined social legitimacy as the one which is accepted and enforced as legitimate by the community of which household is a part. The community is identified here by kinship, caste, religion, or location. Legal legitimacy is one that is established in law. However, neither need coincide.

¹⁷⁸ Such factors include private ownership and control over assets, access to employment and other income-earning means, access to communal resources (such as village commons and forests), access to traditional external social support systems and access to support from the State or from NGOs (Agrawal 1994; 1997).

¹⁷⁹ A female participant (in RYK, no education, a homemaker) mentioned that for her family, the financial support of her brother is her main fall-back position.

Table 7.4: Participants' views by gender and region about a sound fall-back position of an educated daughter

Gender of respondents				An educated daughter has a sound fall-back position			Total
				agree	disagree	neutral	
female	region Kasur	Count		46	0	2	48
		% within region		95.8%	0.0%	4.2%	100.0%
	Okara	Count		19	0	2	21
		% within region		90.5%	0.0%	9.5%	100.0%
	RYK	Count		17	0	1	18
		% within region		94.4%	0.0%	5.6%	100.0%
	Total	Count		82	0	5	87
		% within region		94.3%	0.0%	5.7%	100.0%
male	region Kasur	Count		11	0	1	12
		% within region		91.7%	0.0%	8.3%	100.0%
	Okara	Count		9	0	0	9
		% within region		100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	RYK	Count		10	1	1	12
		% within region		83.3%	8.3%	8.3%	100.0%
	Total	Count		30	1	2	33
		% within region		90.9%	3.0%	6.1%	100.0%
Total	region Kasur	Count		57	0	3	60
		% within region		95.0%	0.0%	5.0%	100.0%
	Okara	Count		28	0	2	30
		% within region		93.3%	0.0%	6.7%	100.0%
	RYK	Count		27	1	2	30
		% within region		90.0%	3.3%	6.7%	100.0%
	Total	Count		112	1	7	120
		% within region		93.3%	0.8%	5.8%	100.0%

The above table shows that 46 out of 48 women in Kasur, 19 out of 21 in Okara and 17 out of 18 in RYK agreed that if their daughter is educated she will have a sound fall-back position. Whereas 12 out of 13 men in Kasur, nine out of nine in Okara and 10 out of 12 in RYK agreed with the statement. The majority of the participants agreed that education would provide their daughter a sound fall-back position assuming it a

vital resource, an asset, and capital in the absence of other resources (particularly economic capital) that can be used to bring improvement in the life of a woman during difficult times.

Often, a person's fall-back position also depends upon perceived interest response and perceived contribution response. The outcome of a bargain would be less favourable if s/he attaches less value to her/his own well-being and her/his contribution to the household economy is perceived as less. Both these perceptions are biased against women's and are particularly adverse in traditional societies such as in South Asia (Sen 1990). To give a stronger fall-back position outside the home, Sen (1990) gives considerable importance to a woman's earning, a clearer perception of her own well-being and a higher valuation of her contribution. However, Agarwal (1994) stresses that a woman's own valuation of her contribution is more important than the value given by others. It implies that women "need to believe they can get a better deal, and to know how that would be possible, rather than merely realising that "they deserve better" (Agarwal 1994: 57). Agarwal places less emphasis on women's perceptions of their self-interest and more on the external constraints which lead to such perceptions. What is required is not a sharpening of women's sense of self-interest but an improvement in their ability to pursue that interest by strengthening their bargaining power. The strengthening of bargaining power would come from improving their fall-back position, like higher educational attainment, and from strengthening the legitimacy of their claims as others perceive it (ibid).

In this sense, education may enhance women's bargaining power within the households; it may impart women knowledge and skills that help them in making life choices and improve their situation. It is hoped that education will enable women to bargain with their husbands or other family members on issues like resource allocation or choosing what is best for them, using reproductive health services, having fewer children, using contraceptives and so on. It shows how women's sound fall-back position can lead to their empowerment and decision-making ability. This issue is further dealt with in the next section by analysing the second sub-group of Factor 1, relating to awareness about one's rights, empowerment and decision-making ability after being educated.

Self-awareness about rights, empowerment and decision-making

It is often argued that education is instrumental in raising awareness among women about their rights, enabling them to be an active member of a household and to participate in decision-making processes (Acharya 2008; Ahmed 2012). Chapter 4 mentioned that in Pakistani society, certain rights are denied to females which include their early and/or forced marriages, honour killings, reproductive/fertility rights (number of children and spacing between children and seeking medical advice in such matters), property rights and access to education and employment. Thus, views of the participants were sought regarding the following statement:

- ❖ An educated daughter will be aware of her rights.

Table 7.5 shows their responses.

Table 7.5: Participants' views by gender and region about girls' education and awareness about her rights

Gender of respondents			An educated daughter will be aware of her rights		Total
			agree	neutral	
Female	region	Kasur	47	1	48
		Okara	21	0	21
		RYK	18	0	18
	Total		86	2	87
Male	region	Kasur	11	1	12
		Okara	9	0	9
		RYK	11	1	12
	Total		31	2	33
Total	region	Kasur	58	2	60
		Okara	30	0	30
		RYK	29	1	30
	Total		117	3	120

In the three districts, altogether, most participants agreed with the above statement. Out of a total number of 120 participants, 117 participants (86 women out of 87 and 31 men out of 33) agreed that if their daughter is educated at least up to secondary

Chapter 7: Research Findings: Perceptions on Rights through Education

level, she will gain awareness about her rights. Some comments of the participants are presented as examples. For instance, a female participant (having middle education in Kasur) said:

Her position will be improved with education as it will bring awareness about her rights which will help her later in life to solve many problems.

A man (having secondary education, a shopkeeper in Kasur) said:

An educated daughter will try to get her rights herself. What is important is that after education she gets an awareness about what are her rights.

Another man (having middle education, daily labourer in Okara) said:

An educated daughter will not only be aware of her rights but she will also gain confidence. Simple awareness is not anything if she cannot apply it with confidence. Many people are aware of their rights but they are unable to get them.

A woman (having primary education, self-employed in Okara) said:

“Parh jae gi tou zindagi sanwar jae gi... apne haqooq pehchaney gi”, (a common statement that is often given in Pakistani society in relation to education)- it means that if a girl is educated, she can make her life.... She will have knowledge about her rights.

Chapter One discussed how education works as an agent to build and enhance the capabilities of women, and is instrumental in developing critical consciousness (Jayaweera 1997; Reed 2008). Education also becomes a means in the struggle against patriarchal ideologies and different forms of structural inequalities (Reed 2008). It is argued that the increased bargaining power of women can be interpreted as an increase in the empowerment of women within households (Rosero and Schady 2008; Brauw et al. 2014 cited in Holmlund and Sohlman 2016). Similarly, participants' comments in Section 7.2.1.1 above show that they linked the bargaining power of an educated girl with having some sort of power or autonomy (*“khudmukhtari”* in Urdu language and in academic terms, the capability of empowerment or exercising agency or power within) and the ability to participate in decision-making within the family.

Agreement levels of the participants were sought about the empowering impact of education on their daughters through the following statement:

❖ An educated daughter is more empowered.

Their responses are shown in Table 7.6.

Table 7.6: Participants' views by gender and region regarding girls' education and empowerment

Region			An educated daughter is more empowered			Total
			agree	disagree	neutral	
Kasur	gender of respondents	female	25	2	21	48
		male	4	2	6	12
	Total		29	4	27	60
Okara	gender of respondents	female	13	4	4	21
		male	4	1	4	9
	Total		17	5	8	30
RYK	gender of respondents	female	10	1	7	18
		male	2	2	8	12
	Total		12	3	15	30
Total	gender of respondents	female	48	7	32	87
		male	10	5	18	33
	Total		58	12	50	120

Out of 48 women in Kasur, 25 agreed that if their daughter is educated, she will be more empowered. Two women disagreed and 21 remained neutral. In Okara, out of 21 women 13 agreed, four disagreed and four remained neutral. In RYK, out of 18 women, 10 agreed with the statement, one disagreed and seven remained neutral. Out of 12 men in Kasur, four agreed, two disagreed and six remained neutral. In Okara, four out of nine men agreed, one disagreed and four remained neutral. In RYK, two men out of 12 agreed that education will empower their daughters while two disagreed and eight remained neutral. This shows that although the number of participants who agreed with the statement is quite substantial, a considerable number remained neutral and the difference between the agreement and neutral levels of the participants is not significant (58 agreed, 50 remained neutral). Respondents' neutrality suggests that their views may be influenced by other factors such as gender role ideologies, socio-cultural norms and male dominance in decision-making. The number of participants who disagreed about the potential of education in empowering their daughter was comparatively lower.

A more nuanced view in the perceptions of empowerment can be seen in the following remarks of the participants. For instance, a woman (having primary education in Okara) who agreed with the statement linked the empowerment with post-marital life:

An unmarried female cannot be empowered before marriage as the decisions regarding her life are made by her father. However, she can be somewhat empowered after her marriage as she can discuss the issues with her husband and sometimes can convince him in some matters related to children or household problems.

Murphy-Graham (2010) argues that the relationship between education and empowerment in private sphere (intimate relations) is not fully developed. She observed a change in the marital relationships of those women who participated in an innovative secondary education programme (SAT¹⁸⁰) in Honduras which enabled them to negotiate more equitable roles in their marital lives. They challenged the traditional gender norms in their communities in subtle ways. By using their interpersonal skills and negotiating skills (such as everyday talk, expressing feelings), they encouraged their partners to share household responsibilities more equitably. It implies that an education that improves gender consciousness, has the potential to empower women in their intimate relationships (Murphy-Graham 2010).

On the other hand, a man (having primary education in Okara) who disagreed with the statement said:

Khudmukhtari (empowerment or agency) is very difficult for women to attain. One has to follow the rules of family and society wherein women have to live. If women start following their own wishes, it will disrupt the whole system.

Here empowerment is seen relational, as people are empowered or disempowered in relation to one another (Mason 2003 cited in Murphy-Graham 2010). It connotes that the complexity and dynamics of empowerment and disempowerment are influenced by social norms and intimate relations. Unequal power relations embedded in patriarchal socio-cultural norms, values, practices and traditions constrain women's empowerment at micro level which "constrain their capacity to exercise agency in key areas of their lives and relationships (Kabeer et al. 2011: 5 cited in Ali 2014).

¹⁸⁰ An alternative secondary education program, Sistema de Aprendizaje Tutorial (Tutorial Learning System or SAT) in Honduras.

Furthermore, one woman (having an MA in Kasur) who remained neutral said:

Empowerment means both things- conflict and agreements. If it is used in negative sense, then it creates conflict whereas in a positive sense it can resolve many issues. However, there should be some agreement in resolving matters.

Here empowerment was suggested as an intricate process. Ali (2014) argued that women's empowerment does not involve showing absolute power over others or exhibiting open defiance against cultural norms. She argues that it is about acting in a strategic way that enables women to feel more secure within circumstances. It is a process of repositioning one's self within close and distant relations, a process of constant negotiations that is based on contextual needs (ibid). Murphy-Graham (2010), however, argues that we still need to learn a lot about the impact of education on empowerment that *how* it actually empowers women.

The empowerment of women is related to making choices, in exercising their agency to make better decisions about their lives. The participants were, therefore, posed the following question to express their agreement levels:

- ❖ An educated daughter can make better decisions about her life.

Their responses are shown in Table 7.7.

Table 7.7: Participants' views by gender and region regarding girls' education and decision making

Region				An educated daughter can make better decisions about her life			Total
				agree	disagree	neutral	
Kasur	gender of respondents	female	Count	13	8	27	48
			% within gender of respondents	27.1%	16.7%	56.3%	100.0%
		male	Count	7	1	4	12
			% within gender of respondents	58.3%	8.3%	33.3%	100.0%
	Total		Count	20	9	31	60
			% within gender of respondents	33.3%	15.0%	51.7%	100.0%
Okara	gender of respondents	female	Count	19	1	1	21
			% within gender of respondents	90.5%	4.8%	4.8%	100.0%
		male	Count	8	0	1	9
			% within gender of respondents	88.9%	0.0%	11.1%	100.0%
	Total		Count	27	1	2	30
			% within gender of respondents	90.0%	3.3%	6.7%	100.0%
RYK	gender of respondents	female	Count	11	1	6	18
			% within gender of respondents	61.1%	5.6%	33.3%	100.0%
		male	Count	3	3	6	12
			% within gender of respondents	25.0%	25.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	Total		Count	14	4	12	30
			% within gender of respondents	46.7%	13.3%	40.0%	100.0%
Total	gender of respondents	female	Count	43	10	34	87
			% within gender of respondents	49.4%	11.5%	39.1%	100.0%
		male	Count	18	4	11	33
			% within gender of respondents	54.5%	12.1%	33.3%	100.0%
	Total		Count	61	14	45	120
			% within gender of respondents	50.8%	11.7%	37.5%	100.0%

In Kasur, out of 48 women, 13 agreed with the statement, eight disagreed and 27 remained neutral. In Okara, out of 21 women, 19 agreed, one disagreed and one remained neutral. In RYK, out of 18 women, 11 agreed, one disagreed and six remained neutral. As far as male participants are concerned, in Kasur, out of 12 men, seven agreed, one disagreed and four remained neutral. In Okara, out of nine men, eight agreed, none disagreed and one remained neutral. In RYK, out of 12 men, three

males agreed, three disagreed and six remained neutral. This shows that the number of women who remained neutral in Kasur was greater than the number of women who agreed with the statement. In Okara this was *vice versa* and in RYK, the number of women was greater than men who agreed with the statement. A greater number of men agreed in Kasur and Okara while greater number of men remained neutral in RYK. Participants who disagreed in all three districts were, however, fewer in number.

The relationship between the education of women and their subsequent ability to influence decisions within their households depends upon the nature of the decision under consideration (Acharya 2008). Education is strongly linked to making decisions (such as to reduce fertility), in countries with higher levels of development and egalitarian gender regimes where women's autonomy is crucial to gain control over their fertility (Heward 1999). In the context of developing countries, where decisions about marriage and fertility are considered important family matters, the relationship between education and autonomy is mediated by patriarchal relations (ibid). Many female participants mentioned that marriage of their daughter is such an important decision that is undertaken only by their fathers (see Chapter 6). This shows the persistence of patriarchal cultures related to decision-making process within households and suggests that education may not delay early marriages of girls or they may not be allowed to complete an education cycle and could be married off to fulfil the interests of their families (fathers and brothers)¹⁸¹. For instance, a woman (having no education, in RYK) said:

What a girl can do in this area (that is rural RYK). She can do nothing even if she is educated. Whatever happens, it depends upon the decision of males in the family. A female cannot raise her voice and no one listens to her. We feel so helpless... I want my daughters to be educated Not like me- an uneducated person... But I can do nothing for them... I cannot convince male members of our family as we are living together.

Another woman (having primary education in RYK) said:

A girl is helpless in front of her father. She cannot raise her voice and there is no guarantee that if she raises her voice then she will get her rights. Some can get their rights and some do not get any. If some girl insists that she wants to study, then some parents agree and some do not agree. It is a matter of luck. Girls have no power to make decisions about themselves.

¹⁸¹ This is also dealt with in Chapter 8 where cases of dropout girls due to their early marriage are discussed.

Samarakoon and Parinduri (2015) argue that although education is instrumental in reducing child mortality, promoting reproductive health practices and increasing contraceptive use, yet it does not necessarily improve the decision-making power of women within the households. It may also not be effective in changing deeply-embedded socio-cultural attitudes. Resultantly, it may not bring outcomes that require instead a transformation of gender relations like male dominance in decision-making, asset ownership or community participation. The following are the verbatim quotes of some men (from Okara and RYK) who expressed their views about the decision-making power of males:

- *Only males decide in the families, or*
- *It is the right of males to decide, or*
- *It looks nice and better if males decide*

Here Bourdieusian notions of symbolic violence, complicity, misrecognition and gendered habitus all are at work (see Chapter 3). The symbolic violence (a form of masculine domination) is the acting out of a worldview and social order that exists deeply in the habitus of both dominant and dominated (Krais 2006). It requires harmony between both agents and particularly the ‘complicity’ on the part of the dominated who integrate in their habitus the symbolic order of gender which generates the corresponding actions. It also implies that the dominated (women in this case) identified themselves and formed their self-image as that of oppressed. Also, the positing of the dominant (men in this case) as the ultimate authority in the decision-making process provided “the basis for women’s way of thinking and perceiving (ibid: 122). Moreover, women were misrecognised by males as not having the right to decide or not ‘looking nice and better’ if they decide or not wise enough to decide. This is how gender inequalities are reproduced, however, with the complicity of women themselves when they do not challenge such practices (Brandt 2012). This legitimates the dominance of men as the natural ‘order of things’, in which women are ‘consigned to inferior social positions’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 168- 173).

Despite this discourse, many case studies have shown that women’s increased access to education and economic opportunities can bring about other development

outcomes. Also, the gender of the person who controls household finances impinges on the way how the money is spent (for instance, Hoddinott and Haddad 1995; Attanasio and Lechene 2002; Duflo 2003; Doss 2006; Rosero and Schady 2008; World Bank 2012 cited in Holmlund and Sohlman 2016). This not only can create sizable productivity gains but also may improve women's social status, can lead to benefits for their siblings and children such as increased school participation or higher levels of nutrition (Holmlund and Sohlman 2016). This is about the intergenerational benefits of female education which fall into the third sub-group of Factor 1. This is discussed in the next section.

Intergenerational benefits of female education

Much discussion has focussed on how female education is a key to securing intergenerational transfer of knowledge, gender equality and social change (Subrahmanian 2007; Hanushek 2008 in Tembon and Fort 2008). Chapter One discussed that generally education is vital and beneficial for individuals, communities, and societies due to its intrinsic and instrumental roles (Robeyns 2006; Wells 2009). Specifically, girls' education has been linked to many development outcomes that trigger social and economic change (King and Hill 1993; Herz and Sperling 2004; Subrahmanian 2006; King and Winthrop 2015). Therefore, participants were asked to express their agreement levels regarding the following three statements:

- ❖ An educated daughter can look after the well-being of her children and the family.
- ❖ Education of a daughter has spill-over effects on the education of next generation and poverty.
- ❖ The education of girls is beneficial not only for the family but for the country as well.

Their responses are shown in Table 7.8.

Table 7.8: Participants' views by gender and region about the intergenerational benefits of girls' education

Gender	Region	An educated daughter can look after the well-being of her children and the family	Spill-over effect of an educated daughter on the education of next generation and poverty	The education of girls is beneficial for family as well as for country
		Agreed/total	Agreed/total	Agreed/total
Female	Kasur	45/48	46/48	42/48
	Okara	21/21	21/21	21/21
	RYK	18/18	18/18	18/18
	Total	84/87	85/87	81/87
Male	Kasur	12/12	12/12	12/12
	Okara	9/9	9/9	9/9
	RYK	11/12	11/12	11/12
	Total	33/33	33/33	33/33
Total	Kasur	58/60	59/60	55/60
	Okara	30/30	30/30	30/30
	RYK	29/30	29/30	29/30
	Total	117/120	118/120	114/120

The majority of participants (both men and women) agreed that the education of their daughter will have a positive impact on the well-being of future generations. An educated female can look after her children as well as the whole family; her education will have spill-over effects in terms of improved health, nutrition, and education of next generations. Other than the socio-economic benefits of female education, the externalities of female schooling were noted in terms of the rate of innovation in society and the range of community benefits. It includes the social rate of return to female schooling which depends upon social costs (that is the public spending on education) and social benefits (private benefits to the individual and to the society at large). The intergenerational benefits associated with schooling also include the spending of time with children and presenting themselves as role models (Patrinos 2008 in Tembon and Fort 2008). As discussed in Chapter Six, several participants who had a certain level of education did spend time with their daughters helping with homework.

The returns to female schooling not only flow to women themselves but also to future generations. If women start working and earn wages, they help their households escape poverty and accelerate the economic growth of their country. Women's greater access to education, market and technology and greater control over household resources translate into the greater well-being of all the household members (Tembon and Fort 2008). Women allocate more resources to food, children's health care and education as compared to men. Educated women are more inclined towards their daughters' education. A higher level of female secondary education yields significant socio-economic and health benefits such as delayed marriages, reduction in infant mortality rate, lower fertility and HIV/AIDS rates, reduction in violence against women. It also enables them to leave abusive relationships and empowers them to denounce adverse socio-cultural practices (King and Hill 1993; Herz and Sperling 2004; Tembon 2008; Chaaban and Cunningham 2011; Lloyd 2013).

It is argued that societies which do not invest in girls' education have slower growth rates (Dollar and Gatti 1999). Chaaban and Cunningham (2011) examined the opportunity cost of excluding girls from productive employment by exploring the linkages between investing in girls' and an increase in national income. Investing in girls' education and enabling them to complete the next level of education is equivalent to 68% of annual GDP of a country. For instance, investments in primary education led to an increase in girls' earnings by 5 to 15% whereas returns to secondary education were 15 to 25% in countries like Thailand, Ghana, and Cote d'Ivoire. The consequences of the depletion of human capital of young girls whose productive contribution to the country's economy is constrained due to the opportunity cost in the wake of school dropout, early pregnancies and joblessness cannot be overlooked (ibid).

While the impact of maternal education on child outcomes has been well documented, the externalities arising out of older sister's education on siblings and particularly on younger brothers' human capital have also been noted (Qureshi 2015). For instance, a woman (having no education, a homemaker in Okara) said:

An educated girl can teach her younger brothers and sisters. And not only this she can also make them learn good manners. If one child is educated, particularly girls, it becomes very beneficial for the family. She stays at home and can give tuitions to young ones which can be a great help.

Another woman (having no education, a homemaker in Kasur) said:

My elder daughter has studied up to higher secondary school (that is intermediate or FA). There is a private tuition centre in the vicinity where children are assisted in their homework. My daughter teaches there and sometimes I ask her to take her younger sister with her. In this way, she also gets assistance when she has to complete her homework particularly in summer vacations.

So far, three sub-groups of Factor 1 were analysed relating to the perceived impact of girls' education on capabilities development and intergenerational benefits of their education. The next section discusses Factor 2. This relates to the gendered practices in the households such as dowry, domestic violence and worth of an educated female.

7.1.2 Factor 2: Girls' education and gendered practices in the household

Five variables were grouped together in Factor 2 (see Table 7.3) relating to the need for giving dowry even if a daughter is educated, her ability to tackle domestic violence, the value of an educated girl after marriage, empowerment, and decision-making. Two variables relating to empowerment and decision-making were grouped both in Factor 1 and Factor 2, however, they were chosen for the analysis of Factor 1 due to their relevance to potential capabilities as discussed in the Section 7.2.1 above. Therefore, those questions were dropped from Factor 2. Three variables that were taken for the analysis of Factor 2 are related to dowry practice irrespective of female education, the ability of an educated female to tackle domestic violence and the perceived worth of an educated girl after marriage. These are discussed next.

Dowry constraints

Chapter 6 discussed findings that the survey respondents tended to save money for dowry payments, instead of spending on education due to societal pressures. This section presents the findings related to giving dowry even if a girl is educated. Participants were asked to agree, disagree, or remain to neutral with the following statement:

- ❖ There is no need to give dowry if your daughter is educated.

Their responses are shown in Table 7.9.

Table 7.9: Participants' views by gender and region about the need to give dowry for an educated girl

Gender of respondents			There is no need to give dowry if your daughter is educated			Total
			agree	disagree	neutral	
female	region	Kasur	4	33	11	48
		Okara	3	15	3	21
		RYK	0	18	0	18
	Total		7	66	14	87
male	region	Kasur	1	10	1	12
		Okara	2	7	0	9
		RYK	0	10	2	12
	Total		3	28	3	33
Total	region	Kasur	5	44	11	60
		Okara	5	22	3	30
		RYK	0	28	2	30
	Total		10	94	16	120

Out of 48 women in Kasur, four agreed with the statement, 33 disagreed and 11 remained neutral. In Okara, out of 21 female participants, three agreed, 15 disagreed and three remained neutral. In RYK, no woman agreed, 18 disagreed and none remained neutral. Out of 13 men in Kasur, one agreed, 11 disagreed and one remained neutral. In Okara, out of nine men, two agreed, seven disagreed and none remained neutral. In RYK, out of 12 men, none agreed, ten disagreed and two remained neutral. These figures show that most participants either disagreed or remained neutral. They thought it is still necessary to give dowry. Participants' comments regarding this need are shown in Table 7.10. The participants were either constrained by this socio-cultural practice or themselves were accomplices in its perpetuation. Other than their gender and residence, the educational levels of the participants were irrelevant in this regard as the educated and uneducated alike felt bound to follow this practice.

Table 7. 10: Comments of the participants by gender, region and educational levels regarding the need to give dowry even if a girl is educated

Gender	Region	Education	Comments
Female	Kasur	No	Dowry is a must. people say what you have given...only education.
Female	Kasur	No	If we do not give dowry, then people do not let us survive and no one accepts our daughter without the dowry.
Male	Kasur	No	People ask the first question about dowry. If we are unable to give it, they ridicule and taunt us and become sarcastic.
Female	Okara	Primary	The first question which in-laws ask from a bride is that what dowry you have brought. However, there are exceptions as some educated people do not demand any dowry.
Female	Okara	No	People ask for dowry first. If a daughter is educated, then they ask whether she has paid work or not.
Female	Okara	FA	Without a dowry, in-laws do not accept your daughter and do not let her survive. They become sarcastic, leading to low self-esteem of girls.
Female	Okara	Primary	No one accepts your daughter without a dowry. If you have five daughters, then you have to give dowry to each daughter.
Male	Okara	MA (Imam Masjid)	It is not compulsory in Islamic Sharia; however, we are constrained by customs and traditions.
Female	RYK	No	Very hard.... We have to give it due to the pressure of <i>Biradari</i> . Otherwise, we cannot survive. It is a tradition in our village.
Male	RYK	Secondary	People make yours and your daughter's life miserable if you do not give dowry.

The above comments show that dowry is not a religious obligation; it is a traditional and cultural practice that is maintained by the participants' habitus which, here, is "the practical operator, the principle that generates 'the regular improvisation' that [is the] social practice" (Krais 2006: 121). The statistical data and the comments of the participants above show that the practice of giving dowry was internalised and embodied by the participants which had moulded their habitus in a gender-specific way since the very beginnings of their lives. In their gendered view of the world, this practice is typically associated with the girls which they think is essential irrespective of girls' education. We can say that here the habitus of the participants was structuring a structure as well as it was being structured by the culture.

Ability to tackle domestic violence

Education alone may not necessarily empower girls and women as discussed above. Even if literacy rates are high, women may be subordinated in the domestic division

of labour and subject to domestic violence (Heward 1999). Specifically, marital violence can undermine woman's capabilities in different ways. It can undermine not only her economic freedoms but social opportunities as well as her self-confidence (in case of speaking for girls' education). In such cases, employment or higher educational attainment may not assist; rather property ownership (owning a house or land) can significantly reduce the risk of domestic violence (Agarwal and Panda 2007). On the other hand, evidence also exists that domestic violence is decreased with higher levels of female education. For instance, it was noted that in India women having a formal education are more likely to resist domestic violence (Sen 1999); in Bahawalpur district of Pakistan, a significant decrease in physical violence against women with increased levels of education was observed (Khan et al. 2013); in Bangladesh, women's higher education proved an important indicator to reduce violence against women (Marium 2015). Therefore, participants were asked to agree, disagree, or remain neutral with the following statement:

❖ An educated daughter can tackle domestic violence.

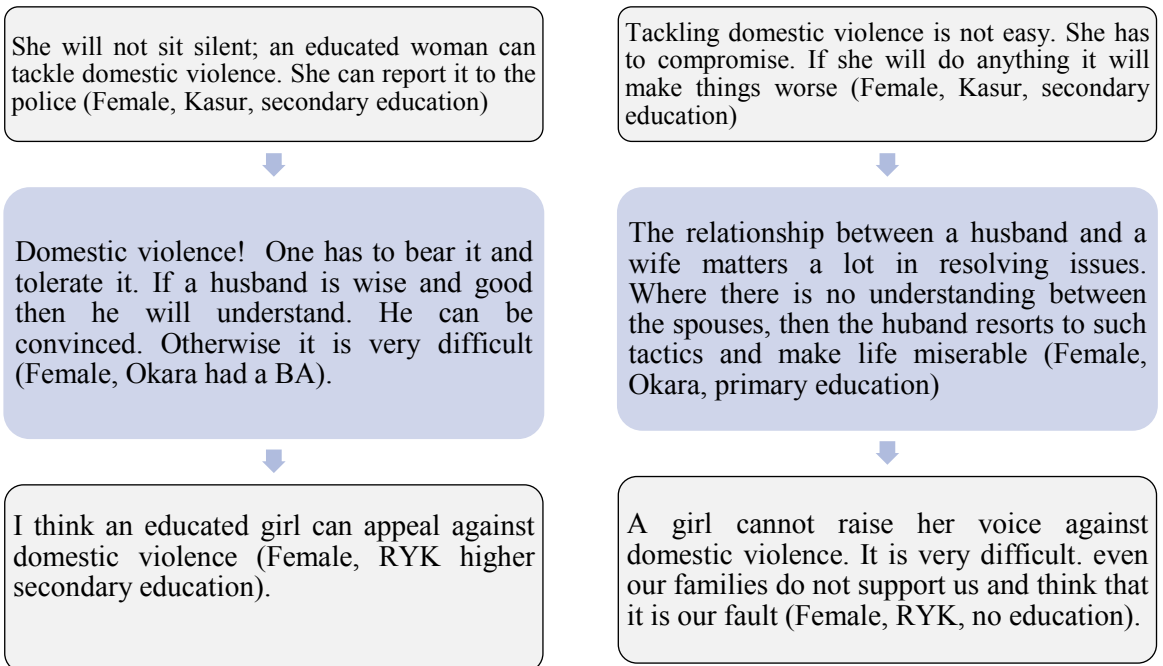
Their responses are shown in Table 7.11.

Table 7.11: Participants' views by gender and region about education and domestic violence

Gender of respondents			An educated daughter can tackle domestic violence			Total
			agree	disagree	neutral	
female	region	Kasur	23	7	18	48
		Okara	17	2	2	21
		RYK	7	3	8	18
	Total		47	12	27	87
male	region	Kasur	8	2	2	12
		Okara	7	0	2	9
		RYK	2	3	7	12
	Total		17	5	11	33
Total	region	Kasur	32	9	19	60
		Okara	24	2	4	30
		RYK	9	6	15	30
	Total		65	17	38	120

Chapter 7: Research Findings: Perceptions on Rights through Education

Out of 48 women in Kasur, 23 agreed with the statement, seven disagreed and 18 remained neutral. In Okara, out of 21 women, 17 agreed, two disagreed and two remained neutral. In RYK, seven women agreed, three disagreed and eight remained neutral. Out of 13 men in Kasur, eight agreed, two disagreed and two remained neutral. In Okara, out of nine male participants, seven agreed, none disagreed and two remained neutral. In RYK, out of 12 men, two agreed, three disagreed and seven remained neutral. Out of total 120 participants, 65 agreed, 17 disagreed and 38 remained neutral. The total number of participants who agreed (65) about the capability of an educated girl in tackling domestic violence was comparatively greater than those who remained neutral or disagreed (55). This shows that such participants expected that education could help their daughters in tackling domestic violence should she face it. The following comments of the participants, however, show variations that how they perceived the impact of girls' education on their capability of addressing domestic violence.



The above statements show that two participants had some knowledge about filing an appeal or reporting such incidents to the police. They held the view that their daughter could follow this path if she faces domestic violence after marriage. For others, there was no way out and women's safety had to be compromised to ensure family support

and maintain good relations with them. Two participants mentioned that understanding between the spouses matters a lot to avoid such situations. Mitra and Singh (2007) argued that higher educational attainment may foster new aspirations and a sense of pride and autonomy in women, however, they may find it difficult to adapt to male-dominance at home and workplace where the socio-cultural norms dictate women to be subservient to men in both private and public spheres. For instance, in the Indian State of Kerala where high levels of development have been observed, suicide rates and violence against women have increased (ibid.). This apparent paradox suggests that educational attainment alone will not pave the way to empowerment unless a change comes in socio-cultural norms at micro and macro levels of a society ensuring gender equality in all spheres of life (Ali 2014).

Value of girls' education after marriage

Chapter 3 discussed that parents in the developing countries often attach less value to girls' education due to a number of reasons such as their reproductive responsibilities and lesser rate of returns as compared to boys. However, the changing perceptions of parents about the value of their daughters' education may have implications for the enhancement of their status in families (Edewor 2006). It is also relevant in the case of a married female that how her education is valued by her in-laws. Participants were asked to express if they agree with the following statement or not:

- ❖ An educated daughter is an asset to her in-laws.

Their responses are shown in Table 7.12.

Table 7.12: Participants' views by gender and region about the value of an educated daughter for her in-laws

Gender of respondents			An educated daughter is an asset to her in-laws			Total
			agree	disagree	neutral	
female	region	Kasur	22	8	18	48
		Okara	17	2	2	21
		RYK	9	0	9	18
	Total		48	10	29	87
male	region	Kasur	7	0	5	12
		Okara	6	0	3	9
		RYK	4	1	7	12
	Total		17	1	15	33
Total	region	Kasur	30	7	23	60
		Okara	23	2	5	30
		RYK	13	1	16	30
	Total		66	10	44	120

Out of 48 women in Kasur, 22 agreed with the statement, eight disagreed and 18 remained neutral. In Okara, out of 21 females, 17 agreed, two disagreed and two remained neutral. In RYK, out of 18 females, nine agreed, none disagreed and nine remained neutral. Out of 12 men in Kasur, seven agreed with the statement, none disagreed and five remained neutral. In Okara, out of nine males, six agreed, none disagreed and three remained neutral. In RYK, out of 12 males, four agreed, one disagreed and seven remained neutral. This shows that in Kasur and RYK, the number of participants who disagreed with the statement or remained neutral is greater than in Okara where both men and women were optimistic that the education of their daughter will be valued by her in-laws. Participants who disagreed or remained neutral were mainly women. Table 7.13 shows some comments of the participants in this regard.

Table 7.13: Women’s responses about worth of an educated female after marriage

Female (married, no education, homemaker)	A daughter-in-law has no worth
Female (married, secondary Education, homemaker)	Only those in-laws who understand the value of education, appreciate an educated daughter-in-law
Female (married, no education, homemaker)	If in-laws themselves are not educated, then she will be in great trouble. They will say that she is telling us new things and trying to teach us. Only those who are sensible will value her
Female (a widow, primary education, homemaker)	Some in-laws ridicule and some do not. Those who criticise say: “we do not need your education. Do the household chores”.
Female (married, no education)	Only educated in-laws will value an educated daughter-in-law and understand her rights.
Female (divorced, no education, homemaker)	It totally depends upon the in-laws, to value the education of a daughter-in-law or not.

These comments show that according to the participants, such traditional attitudes are fostered by the least educated persons who do not value girls’ education or who may feel inferior to an educated daughter-in-law. Lahiri and Self (2007) argued that families fail to internalise the externalities of an educated daughter-in-law. If a family loses a daughter, it gains a daughter-in-law but this is not taken into account in patriarchal families. South Asian parents desire their sons to live with them after marriage along with their wives to continue to accept their authority in household decision-making. The characteristics of a daughter-in-law that facilitate such control are valued by parents which imply that there would be least intergenerational conflict and consequent household partition in the future. Often, an uneducated bride serves this purpose (Dasgupta et al. ND). Some participants stated (Table 7.13) that in-laws ask for dowry even if their daughter is educated and some mentioned that if their daughter is educated then the would-be in-laws ask whether their daughter is doing any paid work or not. Masood (2015) observed that in the rural areas of Punjab, Pakistan, mothers-in-law and husbands prefer young and uneducated women as they

would stay at home whereas educated women are not considered capable of becoming good wives.

Contrary to this, educated girls in Bangladesh are considered more desirable marriage partners as compared to non-educated girls. Moreover, they face less abuse from their marital relations particularly their mother-in-law and husband (Lewis and Lockheed 2007). In Bangladesh, education of girls has become a substitute for dowry as it has enabled them to earn an income by providing them greater access to the labour market. It suggests that formal interventions in the education sector can enhance the social status of girls not only in terms of attending a formal school but by increasing the economic prospects as well that comes from degrees (Lloyd 2013). Therefore, a shift in the practices of a gender regime can occur although such process takes time and effort on various fronts. The most critical factor in this process, however, remains education (Lewis and Lockheed 2007).

Other than the value that is attached to girls' education, parents are also motivated by the returns to their education (see Chapter 3). The next section discusses Factor 3 in relation to the relevance of primary and secondary education to the labour market, the returns associated with these levels of education as perceived by the participants and, in Bourdieusian terminology, the conversion of cultural capital into economic capital.

7.1.3. Factor 3: Girls' education and labour market opportunities

Chapter 1 discussed the link of education, labour market and poverty reduction. Education enhances one's value in the labour market; particularly, an increase in girls' secondary school enrolment is linked with the expanded women's participation in the labour force and their resultant contributions to the household and national income (Seebens 2011; Schurmann 2009 cited in Ahmed 2012). Therefore, the study participants were asked to show their agreement, disagreement, or neutral levels with the following two statements:

- ❖ If your daughter gets primary education, she will get a job.
- ❖ Secondary education will open more economic opportunities for your daughter.

Their responses are shown in Table 7.14.

Table 7.14: Participants, views by gender and region about the value of education and its relevance to labour market

Region	Gender	If your daughter gets primary education will she get a good job				Secondary education will open more economic opportunities for your daughter			
		Agree	Disagree	Neutral	Total	Agree	Disagree	Neutral	Total
Kasur	Female	4	41	3	48	16	29	03	48
	Male	1	11	0	12	01	10	01	12
Okara	Female	0	20	1	21	01	16	04	21
	Male	0	09	0	09	01	07	1	09
RYK	Female	0	18	0	18	0	18	0	18
	Male	0	12	0	12	0	12	0	12
Total		5	112	3	120	20	91	09	120

The majority of the participants disagreed that primary education will offer substantial paid work to their daughters. More surprisingly they disagreed regarding the relevance of secondary education with to formal labour market. The successful transition of girls from school to the world of work is a critical challenge for the next decade. In the developing nations, even girls who complete secondary education face job challenges due to gender discrimination and segregation in the job market and within households (King and Winthrop 2015). The following remarks of the participants indicate this situation:

Female

in Kasur, primary education

- "Even MA could not find jobs now"

Male

in Okara, secondary education

- "Primary or Middle level of education is too low qualification to get a good job"

Female

in RYK, middle education

- "If my daughter only completes her primary education, she can do nothing except washing dishes at rich people's homes (house maid). If she completes her secondary education, she can do sewing at home.(This indicates an opinion that she cannot get paid work and has to resort to sewing at home)

Since households generally associate education with formal employment, primary education is considered a transitory phase to moving into secondary education and entering the labour market (Chimombo et al. 2000). During much part of the fieldwork, many respondents raised concerns regarding the availability of paid work for their children, requesting recommendations to the relevant government departments to provide more work opportunities in their areas.

Moreover, parents had often shown their disillusionment with the educational systems and the relevance of curricula with the daily lives of students. Such problems become acute for girls when cultural factors combine with subject choices thus limiting their progress (Chimombo 2005). This is shown in the comments of the study participants reproduced above. Some participants in Okara mentioned that the government should guide the students in choosing the right subjects and stressed the need to provide technical and vocational education to the girls so that they could earn their livelihood as they feel that the present curriculum does not ensure employability skills. One female participant particularly mentioned the lack of computer education for girls. Most of the participants disagreed that primary and even secondary schooling a sufficient requirement for the labour market. This indicates that the acquisition of human/ cultural capital up to the secondary level is not convertible into economic capital. Some participants showed their dissatisfaction with the education system; they

thought that the graduates of private schools are able to get jobs easily. Some participants even transferred their children to private schools. It also suggests that the stipends may not be helpful only in reducing the cost of schooling; rather it increased the chances of a girl to attend a typical government school which are not improving the quality and relevance of education particularly for girls (Lloyd 2013).

Furthermore, returns to education are biased in favour of men due to different factors like gender differences in terms of schooling or the types of jobs which are available to women and men. This leads to gender inequalities in earning outcomes as men tend to find employment faster than women (Patrinos 2008; Tembon and Fort 2008). The secondary level of education is that stage where gender differences are wider. Particularly girls attaining secondary education are also failing to succeed in the labour market as the quality of educational achievement in terms of learning remains low in developing countries (Tembon and Fort 2008; UNESCO 2012; King and Winthrop 2015). Chapter 4 mentioned that the labour market in Pakistan is highly segregated and dominated by men and women are concentrated in unskilled work and in a narrower set of occupations. Moreover, the labour market returns to education in Pakistan are biased in favour of men. Poorly-educated women remain ill-equipped to seek well-paid jobs thus reducing incentives for parents to invest in girls' schooling. Since women live with their in-laws after marriage, returns to parents from a boy's education are higher as compared to a girl (Aslam et al. 2008 in Tembon and Fort 2008). This could weaken women's own fall-back position and bargaining power within and outside the families.

So far, the research findings regarding girls' *rights through education* have been presented to analyse the perceptions and aspirations of the parents being beneficiaries of an educational intervention that is the GSP. Parental perceptions and aspirations of female education are an important mechanism for inter-generational transmission of welfare and capital. However, this also depends on the socio-economic location of the households as we have seen in Chapter 6. In order to complement the evidence on the perceived impact of GSP, this chapter also collates views and perceptions of public sector officials who were directly involved in the implementation of GSP. These are discussed in the next section.

7.2. Views of public sector officials on the impact of GSP

The views of public sector officials¹⁸² on the impact of GSP on outcomes beyond education (see Section 7.1) were sought through 15 semi-structured interviews. The discussion focussed on five questions relating to *rights through education*: the impact of GSP on changing the mind-set of parents, improving the status of girls in the families and communities, female illiteracy, the labour market opportunities for girls, and lastly the impact of GSP on development outcomes such as empowerment and decision-making. The thematic analysis of these interviews was conducted by employing a Framework Approach. An example is shown in Table 7.15.

Table 7.15: Views of Public-sector Officials on the Impact of GSP

Participants	Changing mind-set of parents	Status of girls	Female illiteracy	Labour Market	Development outcomes
Technical and financial assistance provider (one male)	Extent cannot be Measured... change may be there	Need to be analysed	No, only on enrolment	No evidence	Increases the likelihood of such outcomes
Policy Makers (one male)	A detailed study is required to assess these dimensions	Positive feedback. However, it is a long-term thing to be assessed	Positive...due to the continuity of the project	No follow-up	Indirect outcome is there but cannot be measured on short-term basis
Implementers (three males, one female)	Study is required. Socio-cultural change requires patience and perseverance	Positive feedback but status question is too early to answer	No study conducted	No evidence available	It would bear fruit... a slow process of change
	No such wide-spread impact	Significant as numbers	Not much difference	Not significantly, may be minor	Some impact if girls complete secondary school

¹⁸² The details of 15 public sector officials mentioned in Chapter 5 indicate their power and responsibility within the GSP. The Table 7.15 categorised them: **Technical and financial assistance provider** is the representative of the World Bank (WB); **Policy makers** represented the provincial department of education through its Deputy Secretary of Schools (DSS); **Implementers** are the PMIU members including the Project Director (PD), Deputy Director Planning (DDP), Deputy Director Finance (DDF) and the Monitoring and Evaluation Officer (MEO); **District Monitors** are the PMIU staff posted in the districts called the District Monitoring Officers (DMO) and the **School Administrators** are the head teachers (HT) of schools.

Chapter 7: Research Findings: Perceptions on Rights through Education

District Monitors (two males, one female)		corroborate this.			
	Doubtful, has not contributed	Do not know	No impact evaluation	Doubtful, no impact evaluation	No
	Overall positive, but not certain	Feedback about insufficient stipend. No study conducted	Enrolment has increased	Depends upon availability of higher education facilities	New programme to emphasize the spending on girls' nutrition for better outcomes
	People are concerned about safety issues and distance to high schools	Parents are motivated. Cannot say anything about status	Increased enrolment	It depends upon parents	These are long-term targets
	We have not yet thought about it. It is not planned	No	Impact is there	No... cannot say with certainty... everyone cannot be doctor or engineer	We are afraid of including such topics in the curriculum
School Administrators (six females)	These are high targets. Offering some cash cannot change the mindset. Cultural and social issue are there and will remain so	To some extent it is positive	Healthy signs	Nothing in this programme to improve the level of education or anything related to labour market	All these are related to curriculum, quality of education... offering incentive to be punctual does not mean that students are getting good education
	Change is there as students now want to be professional	Improvement is there	Enrolment increased	Stipend is not solely responsible as not everyone is motivated	It would have impact on all but it is long-term phenomenon
	Yes, change is there but slow in rural areas	A positive change	Poor girls are assisted.... can buy uniform and copies	Yes, it will contribute	Direct link is not there
	Educated girl will have... it will boost her confidence	Status is improving. It is natural off-shoot	Positive step	To some extent it would. Children will	Yes, educated girl will receive and have impact as well

			think to study more	
Invest in them. It will enhance their ability. They will be able to save for their dowries through their earning	Yes, it is improving	Too much impact regarding enrolment	Yes, it will. They can join technical and vocational institutions to enhance their skills	Yes, it will.
Not too much	Some are positive	Not too much here	May be in higher education	Not sure
Some only send their girls to receive money	Awareness level is very low here	If girls drop out they cannot become literate	No	Cannot say anything

An analysis of institutional responses about the impact of GSP on girls' education and social opportunities is presented below.

- a) ***Change in the mind-set of parents:*** There was a difference of opinion amongst the participants regarding the impact of GSP on changing the mind-set of parents. The provincial-level participants mentioned the lack of evidence in this regard and emphasised the need to conduct a detailed study to probe this dimension of GSP's impact deeper. The representative of the World Bank mentioned that there may be some change in parental perceptions about girls' education; however, its extent is difficult to measure. The Project Director acknowledged the influence of socio-cultural norms on girls' education and stressed that a change in this direction is a long-term process which requires patience and perseverance.

The District Monitoring Officer (DMO) of Kasur highlighted the concern of parents regarding the safety issue of their daughters in case of long distance particularly to high school. According to his views, this was a major cause which was a hindrance in changing the mind-set of parents. The DMO of Okara linked this with curriculum; he was of the view that change will be effective if it is mediated through formal schooling which will have intergenerational effects. The DMO of RYK expressed pessimistic views; he thought the impact

of GSP on changing the mind-set of the parents was an unrealistic target and considered the meagre amount of the stipend ineffective in changing socio-cultural ideologies. The headteachers in Kasur acknowledged that some change was taking place, although very slowly in the rural areas. The head teachers in Okara realised the change through the investments in girls' education. The head teachers in RYK did not think there was any change; the headteacher in rural area of RYK said that some parents send their daughters to school just to receive the stipend money to fulfil other needs. This highlights how the global education programmes and the assumptions about their liberating effects fail to consider the socio-cultural values, gender norms and economic constraints that inform parental attitudes towards their daughters' prospects for education (Purewal and Hashmi 2015).

- b) ***The status of girls:*** All the provincial level officials were unanimous in their opinion that there is no evidence regarding the impact of GSP on improving the status of girls in families or communities; they said that no study was ever conducted in this context. The representative of the World Bank was of the view that such impact needs to be analysed whereas the Deputy Secretary Schools and the Project Director (PD) were of the view that change is a long-term process and it is too early to provide an answer. The PD and the Monitoring and Evaluation Officer (MEO) mentioned positive feedback from the parents about GSP, however, the MEO said that the parents have concerns about the insufficient amount of the stipend. The Deputy Director Planning had no comments in this context.

As far as the district level officials are concerned, apart from the DMOs of Kasur and Okara and the head teacher of the rural school in RYK, all other participants were optimistic that GSP had improved girls' status in the families as it is corroborated by the increased enrolments and parental awareness about the importance of girls' education. However, the head teacher in rural RYK shared that the level of awareness among the parents in rural RYK about girls' education was very low. Sometimes, girls just stop coming to school and teachers have to visit their homes and ask the parents to send the girls to school.

- c) ***Female illiteracy:*** Two participants at the provincial level (the WB representative and the MEO) said that there had been no impact of GSP on

female illiteracy, however, the enrolment of girls had increased due to this intervention. The PD and the Deputy Director of Planning said that PMIU had not conducted any study to ascertain the improvement in female illiteracy after the launch of GSP. The Deputy Director Finance disagreed as he could not see much improvement in female illiteracy. The only person who was confident on this aspect was the Deputy Secretary of Schools at provincial level. He said that since the GSP entered into its third phase, it has positive implications in terms of female illiteracy (he did not provide any data to substantiate his views). For him, the continuity of the project was an indicator that the female literacy rate was increasing.

All the three DMOs were also convinced about the impact of GSP on female illiteracy. However, there was difference of opinion amongst the head teachers. One head teacher in the semi-urban area of Kasur and two in Okara saw the impact only in terms of increased enrolment of the girls in schools. The response of the head teacher of the rural school in Kasur was irrelevant which shows that she was not clear on this aspect. She said the impact of GSP was not on female illiteracy but on the direct cost of schooling. The head teacher of the semi-urban school in RYK said that there was not much impact on female illiteracy. (This may imply weak reading and writing skills of girl students in RYK). The head teacher of the rural school in RYK mentioned the issue of dropout. According to her, if a girl drops out, it affects her literacy skills. It has also been mentioned in an earlier study by Chaudhury and Parajuli (2008) that in the wake of GSP, enrolments for secondary school girls may have increased by 9-20%, however, there is no significant improvement in learning among girls in the stipend districts. In KPK province of Pakistan, the GSP had not been very successful in addressing quality gaps between students of public and private schools as far as their skills and competency levels are concerned (Ahmed 2012).

- d) ***Labour market:*** There were mixed views on the perceived impact of GSP on the labour market participation of girls. All the provincial level officials expressed their lack of knowledge as no evidence was available in this context. Nor had any impact evaluation was conducted to ascertain girls' entry into labour market. The MEO linked the labour market opportunities with the

availability of higher education facilities. This implies that the participation of girls in primary or lower secondary school is not a sufficient condition for their labour market participation (this was reported by many survey participants as well as discussed in Section 7.2.3). It also becomes imperative to realise that what employment opportunities are available for the girls when they leave the school keeping in view the gender segregation of the labour market (Raynor 2005).

- e) **Development outcomes:** The representative of the WB held positive views in this respect as he thought that girls' educational participation due to the GSP increases the likelihood of development outcomes particularly women's empowerment. The DSS mentioned about indirect outcome (about which he was not clear) and believed that the development outcomes cannot be measured on short-term basis. The PD corroborated this by adding that change is a slow process, however, it would bear fruit in the long run. The DDF linked the development outcomes with the completion of at least secondary education whereas the MEO mentioned inter-sectoral linkage. For instance, educational sector initiatives combined with those in the health sector (such as stipend programme along with the spending on girls' nutrition could be useful). She did not elaborate this; maybe she meant weak synergies with other programmes. The DDP could not envisage the impact of GSP on development outcomes. Ahmed (2012) pointed out that the stipend programmes fall deficient of an outcome-based study and stressed the need to ascertain the purpose of such interventions. Is it only to get the girls enrolled in schools, or to really measure the social impact of stipend-receiving girls' education in terms of their contribution towards social and economic development versus out-of-school or dropout girls (ibid).

As far as the district level officials are concerned, the DMO (Kasur) and the headteacher of the semi-urban school perceived the development outcomes as long-term targets whereas the head teacher in the rural school could not see any direct link between the GSP and development outcomes. In Okara, both headteachers shared similar views that the GSP will have positive impact on development outcomes whereas the DMO (Okara) held that there might be indirect outcome. He also mentioned that such topics are not included in the

curriculum which portrays stereotypical images of women. The DMO (RYK) supported this view and added that it relates to the quality of education; since the GSP is only linked with attendance, it could not bear fruit in the context of development outcomes. Both the headteachers in the district of RYK expressed their lack of knowledge on this aspect of GSP.

The above analysis shows that the impact of GSP in terms of increased enrolment of girls was taken as a positive step and a substantial change by most of the participants. This is similar to the findings in KPK province of Pakistan where 86% of girls enrolled in schools after primary level due to the stipend incentive. This shows a structural change in the society as people are realising the importance of female education (Ahmed 2012). However, the participants in this study termed this as a short-term gain and suggested a full-fledged impact evaluation or detailed study for long-term outcomes. The evaluations of such programmes are essential to assess their impact and cost-effectiveness as there is no guarantee that the short-term gains would be sustained (Birdsall et al. 2005; Masood 2015).

The interviews with the public-sector officials revealed a “weak project review” (Ahmed 2012: 90). Globally service delivery is improved on the basis of feedback (Ahmed 2012). The participants particularly in RYK and in the rural areas expressed their concerns regarding a very slow pace of change. This denotes that policy implications are needed in terms of more funding or improving the GSP’s manifesto. It was also mentioned that unless the curriculum is not changed or the topics like gender equality and women’s empowerment are included in the curriculum, development outcomes are unlikely to be achieved.

7.3. Conclusion

This chapter has presented research findings regarding perceived girls’ *rights through education* in terms of outcomes beyond education. The primary research consisted of a survey of the perceptions and aspiration of parents, who obtained the stipend in the three study regions (Kasur, Okara and RYK) and semi-structured interviews with 15 public sector officials who were the providers of educational services as well as policy makers. This was to get the household and an institutional perspective on the impact of GSP and the perceived *rights through education*. The survey data was analysed by

employing factor analysis technique in the SPSS thus extracting three factors from 15 questionnaire items. Factor 1 related to the girls' education and development of certain capabilities like an improved bargaining power, a sound fall-back position, empowerment and participation in the household decision-making and the intergenerational benefits of female education. Factor 2 related to the girls' education and gendered practices in a household such as dowry, domestic violence and worth of an educated female and Factor 3 related to the girls' education and labour market opportunities.

The research findings in relation to the parental survey revealed that most of the participants agreed about the intergenerational benefits of girls' education and the awareness about one's rights which education could bring in the girls. They also agreed that education could serve as a sound fall-back position should the girls face any calamity or conflict in their lives. Such views indicated that parents' perceptions about girls' education are changing, which is a substantial change, particularly in relation to changing mind-sets. Parental aspirations regarding girls' education and its outcome were more conspicuous amongst females (perhaps due to their own educational disadvantage). However, on certain indicators relating to capabilities (such as the improved bargaining power, empowerment, participation in decision-making within the households, the ability of a girl to tackle domestic violence and the need to give dowry even if a girl is educated and her worth after marriage), parental perceptions and aspirations varied to a great extent. A prominent theme which emerged was male dominance and symbolic violence in the household decision-making process, some women's complicity in perpetuating such domination and sustenance of gender norms and socio-cultural practices (a show of gendered habituses) and misrecognition of women by men of the families. Women in this study were constrained by male dominance as they expressed their submissiveness whereas men asserted their dominance and authority as their sole right.

A range of differences in the study region came up in this study, for instance, on indicators of bargaining power, empowerment, decision-making, domestic violence and the worth of an educated female after marriage, Okara was at one side of the continuum, RYK on the other side and Kasur was lying at the middle point. Amongst

the three districts, the participants in Okara were more optimistic regarding all survey items related to girls' rights through education as compared to the participants in Kasur and RYK. Amongst Kasur and RYK, RYK lagged on all items of the survey which has policy implications in terms of more focus on disadvantaged areas through diversion of funds on a needs basis and revising the GSP's manifesto such as making it compulsory for girls to pass a grade instead of just attending the school. Within regions, participants in the semi-urban areas were comparatively hopeful on items such as girls' empowerment, decision-making power, and tackling domestic violence whereas the rural participants saw an improvement in girls' bargaining power as an important outcome of their education. Dowry and the labour market opportunities were such indicators upon which disagreement levels of most of the participants in all regions and locations was marked.

The analysis of semi-structured interviews with public sector officials on the perceived impact of GSP highlighted: the persistence of gender norms and socio-cultural norms in changing the mind-set of parent; the need to conduct a detailed impact evaluation of the GSP and changes in the curriculum in relation to development outcomes such as adding topics on gender equality and women rights and empowerment. The increased enrolment of girls was taken as a significant contribution of the GSP, albeit a short-term achievement. However, to achieve long-term development goals and gender equality, the time-frame of a decade was considered insufficient by the participants.

A slow pace of change could bring negative outcomes such as the drop out of girls from schools. This is discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 8: Research Findings: Dropout and Loss of Rights

This chapter aims to analyse the impact of GSP on the retention and transition of girls from middle to secondary school (that is from Grade 8 to Grade 9) as findings show that a number of factors affect girls' retention at the secondary level. Further, the chapter will focus on the extent of dropout among girls, through exploring the causes and resultant impact of girls' withdrawal from the education system. Finally, it will ascertain how such loss of girls' educational rights lead to a deprivation in terms of developing capabilities (see Chapter Two). The data for this analysis are drawn from semi-structured interviews conducted in 2015 with 18 households chosen from the survey sample, who reported dropout in Grade 9. Section One will present an overview of the earlier/older dropouts in the survey sample families (for which data was gathered in 2014). Section Two will present the categories of temporary and permanent dropouts as related in the parental accounts of their daughters' dropout in Grade 9. A localised exploration of the dropout process helped to highlight gendered reasons behind girls' dropout. Section Three will discuss the views of public sector officials regarding the retention, transition and dropout of girls based on 15 semi-structured interviews (see Chapter 5). Section Four will describe the impact of dropout in terms of capability deprivation and its wider implications for gender inequality and human development. Section Five will conclude.

8.1. Dropouts in the survey sample: An Overview

Chapter 3 mentioned a typology of school dropout framed by Ananga (2011b) which has two main categories: *Temporary* and *Permanent* dropout. In Ananga's classification, temporary dropout has three sub-categories (sporadic, event and long-term) whereas permanent dropout has two sub-categories (unsettled and settled dropout). Serneels and Dercon (2014) point to how educational research, during the last two decades, has overwhelmingly focused on the supply of schooling compared with the demand in families for girls' education. School dropout, largely due to familial factors, is a major problem in developing countries particularly during transition from primary to secondary school and beyond. In Pakistan, parental attitudes

and economic factors play an important role in retention rates of school children. For example, Farooq (2010) has analysed causes of dropout pointing to parental carelessness, poor parental economic condition, grade retention, students' out of school companionship, truancy, difficulty in learning, preference for child labour over studies, inability to learn, psychological problems, illiteracy of parents, and students' poor health. This chapter aims to understand the process of dropping out from a gendered perspective through the narrations of parents of dropout girls. Therefore, while conducting the surveying in 2014, I asked participants the following questions:

- ❖ Has any of your children dropped out from school? (Yes/No)
- ❖ If yes, please provide the total number of dropouts.

Table 8.1 shows that out of 120 survey participants, 61 (50.8% of the sample) had male and female dropouts in their families. These were permanent dropouts who quit school at different stages and never returned to school.

Table 8.1: Dropouts amongst survey participants

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	yes	61	50.8	50.8	50.8
	no	59	49.2	49.2	100.0
	Total	120	100.0	100.0	

Also, Table 5 at Appendix 10 shows the total number of dropouts amongst the survey participants in three districts of Kasur, Okara and RYK¹⁸³. Table 8.2 shows the percentage of dropout within these districts.

¹⁸³ The Table 5 at Appendix 10 shows that most of the participants had a number of dropout children ranging from one to four. Out of total 120 participants, 24 had one dropout in the family, 16 participants had two dropouts, 11 had three dropouts, and 3 participants had four dropouts in their family. In Kasur, 4 participants had five dropouts, and 2 participants had six dropouts in their family. In Okara, only 1 participant reported that there were seven dropouts in the family.

Table 8.2: Dropout by region

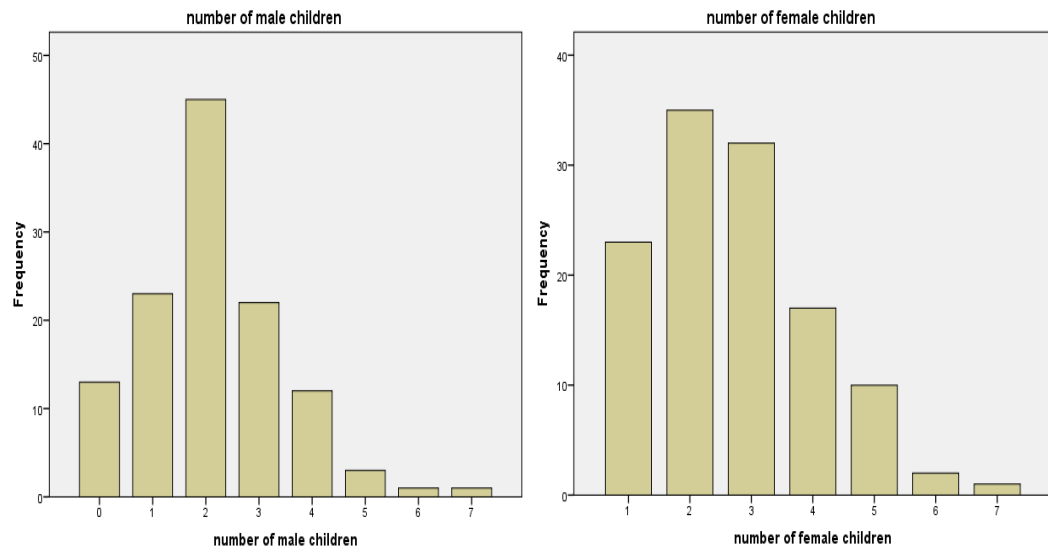
Region	Number of survey participants who reported dropout	% of survey sample having dropouts by region	Total
Kasur	28	46.7%	60
Okara	13	43.3%	30
RKY	20	66.7%	30
Total	61	50.8%	120

Out of 120 survey participants, 61 (50.8% of the sample) already had dropouts in their families. In Kasur 28 participants had dropouts (46.7% of the sample); in Okara, 13 participants had dropout children (43.3% of the sample) and in RKY, 20 participants had such children who had dropped out earlier (66.7% of the sample). This shows that as compared to Kasur and Okara, RKY had the highest percentage of older/earlier dropouts amongst the survey sample; hence, more disadvantaged in terms of educational deprivation. The Punjab Multiple Indicators Cluster Survey (2014) also reveals that in RKY, the percentage of total out of school population of primary and secondary school age (61.4% and 50.0% respectively) was greater as compared to that in Kasur (39.7% and 27.2% respectively) and Okara (47.6% and 31.3% respectively). Moreover, in RKY, the percentage of girls in the total out of school population of primary and secondary school age (50.6% and 56.1% respectively) was also greater as compared to Kasur (46.1% and 51.4% respectively) and Okara (49.2% and 55.5% respectively).

To ascertain the total number of dropouts by gender in the survey sample, participants were asked the following question:

- ❖ Please provide the number of male and female dropouts.

Their responses are shown in Figure 8.1.

Figure 8.1: Number of male and female dropouts in the survey sample

The above figure shows that the dropout rate among girls was higher than boys which may point to gendered inequalities in capability development not only between the two genders but also among girls or boys. For instance, an older female child may quit school and take care of younger female siblings (see McGavock 2016). Such occurrences may allow the participants to encourage younger children and particularly girls to attain educational qualification at least up to the secondary level for the sake of social mobility. Conversely, different factors which contributed to the dropout of older siblings, may lead to the dropout of the younger siblings and specially girls, such as poverty, distance and early marriage. As discussed in Chapter 3, a focus on various factors operative in families, schools and communities can reveal a complex interaction that push or pull children out of school¹⁸⁴. In this study, participants were asked to identify potential reasons causing their children to drop out. Their responses are presented in Table 8.3.

¹⁸⁴ These factors include socio-economic background of children's family (their gender, education, health, income, and geographic location), household composition (size of the family), direct and indirect cost of schooling, opportunity cost in case of children working to support family income, child labour leading to irregular attendance, lateness, seasonal migration of families in search of viable markets or to work in harvest season. In addition, personal and financial problems of children coincide with the inability of schools to support them. Further, a hostile school environment (lack of support, school practices and processes), overage enrolment and grade repetition also contribute to drop out (Ananga 2011a; Ananga 2011b).

Table 8.3: Reasons for dropout identified by survey participants in 2014

Reasons of dropout	Participants' response for			
	Male child	Female child	Both	Not Relevant
Direct/indirect cost	14	17	10	79
Opportunity cost	28	07	04	81
School distance	01	09	01	109
School facilities	00	01	00	119
Sexual harassment	00	14	01	105
Repetition/disinterest	13	10	00	97
School relevance with job market	00	01	01	118
Dowry	00	15	00	105
Early marriage	01	21	00	98
Lack of female teachers	00	00	02	118
Sickness/disability	06	02	02	110
Death of family member	01	02	04	113
Harvest season	08	05	04	103

As also seen in Chapter 6, the above table shows that the dropout pattern differs by gender (Shahidul and Karim 2015). For female children, the cost of schooling (both direct/indirect and opportunity cost), distance, sexual harassment, dowry, and early marriage, repetition/disinterest and the harvest season¹⁸⁵ were the potential causes of dropout. For the male children, it was the cost (both direct/indirect and opportunity), repetition/disinterest, sickness/disability and the harvest season which led them to

¹⁸⁵ There are two harvest seasons in Pakistan: Rabi and Kharif. Rabi crops (also called winter crops) are sown in autumn (Oct-Dec) and harvested during March-April. The major Rabi crop is wheat, however, depending on the region, barley, peas, gram and mustard are also grown during this season. Kharif crops (also called summer crops) are planted during the rainy (monsoon) season usually with the beginning of the first rains in July. The Kharif season starts on 16th April 16th until 15th October and the main crops are cotton, sugarcane, rice, maize.

drop out. Hence, it becomes manifest that some reasons were common to both genders such as economic factors related to the cost of schooling; working during harvest season and non-economic reasons such as repeating grades or showing disinterest in schooling. Whereas some reasons were gender-specific and related to girls. These were distance to school, harassment on the way to school; dowry and early marriage. These gendered reasons caused a greater female dropout rate as compared to boys. These findings are consistent with recent research conducted to investigate the factors that caused dropout from high school in Afghanistan, Bolivia, Tanzania and Bangladesh (Subrahmanyam 2016)¹⁸⁶. In developing countries, due to multiple factors such as these, millions of girls dropout from either primary or lower secondary school (Sperling and Winthrop 2015).

In view of the above, the real challenge is not just getting girls into school; rather it is their retention and transition into the next grades, particularly from primary to middle and from middle to secondary education and higher (Subramanian 2007; Sperling and Winthrop 2016). Typically, national education plans assume that progression will improve automatically as a result of interventions designed to improve initial access and educational quality (Sabates et al. 2013). Although policies to improve school progression and to reduce the numbers of dropouts are critical to achieve Universal Primary Education, yet the role of policy makers and implementers in setting the development framework and giving priority to interventions cannot be ignored (ibid; Moore et al. 2013). Keeping this in view, the extent of retention, transition and dropout were also explored through views of public sector officials, which are discussed in the next section.

¹⁸⁶ In her research, Subrahmanyam (2016) noted that some reasons were applicable to both genders and some were relevant to females only. For instance, poverty and the cost of schooling were major factors that explained both male and female dropouts at all levels of education in the above-mentioned countries. On the other hand, the perceived low value of girls' education and socio-cultural norms and practices, such as early marriage, robbed many girls of their right to education particularly at higher levels.

8.2. Perspective of public sector officials on Girls' Retention, Transition and Dropout

Fifteen (15) public- sector officials, (from provincial and district departments of education as mentioned in Chapter 5) were asked the following four questions:

- 1- What is the impact of GSP on the retention of girls in Grade 8?
- 2- What is the impact of GSP on the transition of girls into next Grade (that is from Grade 8 to Grade 9 in this study)?
- 3- What is the impact of GSP on drop out (during and after Grade 8)?
- 4- What do you think is the most important factor leading to drop out?

Their responses were analysed by employing a Framework Approach as developed by the National Centre for Social Research, UK. These are briefly shown in Table 8.4.

Table 8.4: Perspective of Public Sector Officials on Girls' Retention, Transition and Dropout

Participant	Retention	Transition	Drop out	Reasons for drop out
Technical and financial assistance provider	Positive impact	Critical stage, difficult to maintain	Increased enrolment... became static then drop out occurred.	Poverty, Long distance, cultural values.
Policy makers	Impact is there... people are getting aware of girls' education	Parents are the main decision makers	Drop out has decreased but different trends in different areas.	Distance to high school, Parental education
Implementers	Positive impact on retention... shown through the continuity of the stipend. Retention increased at least to Grade 8 and in stipend-targeted districts	Impact in those middle schools where high schools are in the vicinity... many girls enrolled in Grade 9... Interaction of Government and the parents matters	Different trends... increased... decreased and then static... Drop out has decreased at least until Grade 8. Some exceptions may be there... at critical stages like Grade 5, Grade 8	Distance to high school, Boundary wall, safety of girls Poverty, culture

Chapter 8: Research Findings: Dropout and Loss of Rights

			and Grade 10 it is still there...	
District Monitors	Positive impact on retention. Space issues in classrooms... Enrolment has increased... retention is linked with other factors...	Not much positive... transition is a difficult issue Progression depends upon parents. Awareness level among parents is very low	A decrease in drop out until Grade 8 Many other factors play their role...	Distance to high school, security concerns of parents, Socio-cultural values of the parents, migration of families, quality of schools
School Administrators	Enrolment and retention has improved... difficult to maintain due to different reasons like poverty. Impact is positive... stipend is just one step.	Parents' awareness level is very low... transition is not 100% as high school is far... other issues as well.	Dropout occurs... enrolment in other schools Harassment issues Drop out has not completely controlled after Grade 8.	Poverty, Quality of public schools, harassment issue, distance to high school, Large family size... Taking care of siblings, Migration, Harvest season, Mental capacity of some girls... Safety of the girls, Parents do not value girls' education, Electricity and drinking water

Some aspects of the perspective of public sector officials is discussed in detail next:

8.2.1. Retention

Most of the participants at the provincial level including the representative of World Bank (WB) and the project implementation team¹⁸⁷ agreed that the GSP has been successful in retaining girls at least until Grade 8 in the stipend target districts. The District Monitoring Officers (DMO) and the head teachers in Kasur and Okara although agreed with the provincial officials in terms of an increase in retention, however, they highlighted some issues specific to their districts which might undermine the retention of girls in schools. For instance, the DMO of Kasur mentioned:

Due to this intervention, enrolment of girls in public schools has increased. There is also an improvement in the retention rate of girls at least until Grade 8. However, one of the problems which we are facing here is the shortage of space in the classrooms due to increased enrolment. In such scenario, 4-5 girls have to share one desk which, in my opinion, is not good.

The DMO of Okara linked retention with multiple factors both at the level of households and institutions, for example, he said:

Poor parents tend not to send their children to school as they consider them their helping hands to increase family earnings. Their children work with them in fields or girls take care of siblings when mothers are at work.

The mobility of families was another factor as people used to migrate to other cities, such as the provincial metropolis (Lahore) to seek work in different sectors, for example, construction work, factory worker, vendors selling fruits and vegetables etc.

Due to teachers' attitudes and their teaching methods in public schools, parents enroll their children in low-fee private schools which are of better quality than the public schools. A mother approached me and complained that her daughter was not learning anything in public school, so it was a waste of time and resources. I think schools' healthy atmosphere and teachers' friendly attitude matter a lot to retain girls in schools.

The headteacher of the semi-urban school in Kasur mentioned that to retain girls particularly in high schools was difficult due to following reasons.

The Divisional public school¹⁸⁸ (DPS) is here in the vicinity which is a factor that girls prefer to go to that school instead of a public school. Moreover,

¹⁸⁷ including the Project Director, Deputy Secretary Schools, Deputy Director Planning, Deputy Director Finance and the Monitoring and Evaluation Officer

¹⁸⁸ DPS is a selective school at the divisional level, maintained and operated by private philanthropy.

parents also prefer DPS owing to its good reputation, huge building, sports ground and teaching staff.

Some episodes of harassment have occurred such as boys who wander in the streets and follow girls up to school or they stare (leer) at them. It is because of the distance to high school from middle school.

Parents' awareness level is very low, so, they should be guided. Parents of dropouts, in fact, do not encourage their children, and all blame falls on the shoulders of teachers.

There was no dropout in the rural school of Kasur at the time of visit; however, the headteacher shared her views:

Poor girls are being assisted through the stipend money. At least they could buy some items like uniform and copies for homework. The motivational level of girls has also increased as some girls attend this school (middle level) even after travelling 6-8 km (3.72- 4.97 miles). This is a positive change in the area. In this way, the GSP is helping in the retention of girls at least until Grade 8. However, 50% of girls would leave the school if the stipend were discontinued. Moreover, the high school is very far-20 km (12.42 miles) away from this village. It should be in the neighbourhood.

There are two private schools in the vicinity which attracted many families to enrol their children there. *Madrasah* enrolment (for religious education) was one of the reasons to leave the school permanently during the middle level of school (Grade 6-8), but there are few examples of dropouts in this category at the moment.

Normally the girls in Grade 8 are overage for their grade; in this area, such girls are of 16-17 years of age.

The headteacher of the semi-urban school in Okara shared that although retention had improved, yet there were other issues which might impact on it such as large family size¹⁸⁹. She highlighted a dangerous trend in the area- suicide attempts amongst the educated people due to unemployment. She said:

Unemployment of young and educated people is a harsh reality. If the Government could not provide paid work, education may become a trouble without any future road map. Some young people (males) committed suicide in our area due to their unemployment even after getting some education.

¹⁸⁹ She told that in one family there were seven children (their gender was unknown to her) and the father could not remember even the names of all his children.

The headteacher of a rural school¹⁹⁰ in Okara acknowledged the positive impact of GSP on retention in her school until Grade 8. She said:

There is too much impact on enrolment here. Admission rate has increased. Even girls are coming from private school. However, the safety of the girls comes first as distance to school matters for parents. Even teachers do not come to school if it is not safe. So, school should be in the vicinity- a walking distance, and then stipend would encourage the families and girls to a great extent.

The situation was different in RYK. The DMO (RYK) and the headteacher of the semi-urban school classified the impact of GSP on retention as average. The headteacher of rural school found it hard to retain the girls in her school. She said:

I, along with my school teachers, have to work hard for the retention of girls by convincing their parents personally. Sometimes girls attend school intermittently. In such cases, we have to visit their parents and ask them to send their girls to school. Also, girls do not attend school in the harvest season of wheat and cotton and their parents demand full stipend money even if their girls fall short of attendance (conditionality of 80% attendance in GSP). Such parents often come to school and protest if we refuse to disburse the stipend money.

8.2.2. Transition to secondary level

Regarding the transition of girls from Grade 8 to Grade 9, the participants expressed mixed views. For instance, the representative of the WB said:

Transition into the next grades is a critical condition for girls in Pakistan which is difficult to maintain particularly in the rural areas. The World Bank advised the government that in case of greater distance, the rate of stipend should be different but a flat rate has been fixed for the girls in stipend-target districts. A

¹⁹⁰ This school was otherwise very impressive. I had a tour of school which was very well decorated and furniture was also according to the requirement. Different charts and displays were there in the classrooms which were prepared by the students. It was a very impressive show which was unlike a public school. The head teacher was very dedicated and a hard-working woman. This school is an English Medium school and a couple of private schools were closed in the vicinity owing to the quality of education imparted there. The fee charged here in this school was nominal i.e. Rs.20.00 as compared to the private school. The owner of that private school also tried to get the head teacher transferred so that his school could run but he was not successful. The head teacher's commitment to the school was unfailing as she used to go beyond her mandate to attract the girls to the school and then to retain them. It was surprising to find that she knew a good number of students by their names (a show of personal attachment). Moreover, this school was upgraded to Grade 10 which would further improve the retention and progression of girls. This was an example of efficient policy-making as the upgradation of existing middle schools into high schools was the dire need of that area.

higher amount was also proposed by the World Bank for Grade 9 students to offset the opportunity but it is still not implemented.

The Project Director (PD) and the Monitoring and Evaluation Officer (MEO) were of the view that the GSP helped in improving the transition of girls from Grade 8 to Grade 9 in those areas where high schools were located near the middle schools. Whereas the Deputy Secretary Schools (DSS) shared:

Transition depends upon parental decisions about continuity of girls' education. Monetary incentives do play a role but only depending on this will not be sufficient. Besides this, an improvement in soft skills such as self-confidence, communication and interpersonal skills would bring greater impact as parents will see the difference in these terms.

The Deputy Director Planning (DDP) stressed the interaction of government agencies with the parents. According to him, the stipend tends to support parents as they decide about the transition of children and particularly the girls.

Some officials were not optimistic about the impact of GSP on transition, for example, for the Deputy Director Finance (DDF) the impact of GSP on transition was slight. The DMOs of Kasur and Okara also held the view that the impact of GSP on transition was not significant as this stage is determined by the decisions of parents particularly transition in secondary school and beyond. The headteacher of a semi-urban school in Kasur linked impact with the awareness level of the parents regarding girls' education. The head teacher of the rural school in Kasur reiterated that the high school was very far from the middle school (20 km=12.42 miles); therefore, the transition from Grade 8 to Grade 9 is an uphill task. The head teacher of the semi-urban school in Okara said:

The transition into higher grades is not a smooth process in this region even after the launch of GSP; it depends upon different factors such as the early marriage of girls, children helping their parents at home or in the fields and the availability of the paid work after education. There is a need to work on increasing the level of awareness amongst parents. On the state level, there should be adequate employment opportunities and girls' safety and harassment issues on their way to school need to be tackled.

On the other hand, both the headteachers as well as the DMO of RYK were unanimous that the transition of girls into higher grades was not improving there as the girls continue to quit school.

8.2.3. Dropout from secondary level

Participants also expressed mixed views regarding girls' dropout levels. According to the WB representative, enrolment increased at the beginning of the project, but in the later years it became static, and gradually dropout of girls started occurring. The PD also corroborated this:

There are different trends in the whole educational cycle, sometimes dropout is increased, sometimes it is decreased, and sometimes it becomes static.

On the other hand, for the DSS, the impact of GSP on girls' dropout was significant. According to him, the dropout had decreased but there were different trends in different areas of the stipend targeted districts¹⁹¹. The DDP was of the view that Grade 5, Grade 8 and Grade 10 are the critical stages of transition (that is from primary to middle and from middle to secondary) where dropout still occurs. The DDF believed that a slight decrease occurred in the dropout but still there are many issues which need to be addressed to control the process of dropout such as parental perceptions. Similarly, the MEO also thought that dropout had decreased at least until Grade 8, however, exceptions may be there. The DMOs of Kasur and Okara substantiated that a decrease in dropout until Grade 8 had happened. For the DMO RYK, there was no decrease in dropout even after the launch of GSP as the girls were still quitting school during and after Grade 8.

The headteachers in Kasur had nothing to state in terms of dropout; they reiterated similar stance as stated above about retention and transition. The headteacher of the semi-urban school in Okara reported that dropout occurred for different reasons. For instance, she mentioned:

¹⁹¹ Neither the PD nor the DSS could not support their statements due to non-availability of dropout figures.

A girl quit school when her mother died, and her father married again. The girl had to look after her siblings. I tried to convince her father about the continuity of her education, but he did not agree and said that she is needed at home.

The headteachers of the rural school in Okara and both (semi-urban and the rural) schools in RYK also verified the occurrence of girls' dropout; in RYK the stipend was not helpful in reducing the dropout.

8.2.4. Reasons for dropout

The reasons of girls' dropout conveyed the different level of understanding amongst the institutional providers. For instance, the PD highlighted the shortage of high schools. He said:

Distance to school matters a lot and it was one of the potent reasons for dropout because the transition from middle to high school is a challenge owing to the reason that high schools are fewer in number as compared to the middle or primary schools.

The DDP mentioned infrastructural issues as well as socio-cultural norms regarding girls' safety. He commented:

The issue of proper buildings of schools with boundary walls warrants attention. Although the Government is spending on constructing the boundary walls around many schools in Punjab, however, nothing is being done to tackle the issues of girls' honour, safety and harassment while walking to school, which is of great concern to the parents.

This view was supported by the MEO and the DMO (RYK) that although the distance to high school is a critical factor, it is not the focus of the state policy. It was particularly mentioned above by the headteacher of the rural school in Kasur that the high school is 20 km (12.1/2 miles) away from that village. The headteacher of a semi-urban school in Okara mentioned poverty and distance:

The stipend is not spent on girls due to poverty; some parents express their gratitude while receiving the money and say: "electricity bill was outstanding, now I will be able to pay it". The level of poverty can be well imagined by the fact that in some cases, teachers themselves pay the monthly fee of girls (which is nominal 20 PKR). Distance is another issue here as high school is 1.5 km

(0.93 miles) far. Parents cannot afford transport, so the girls are not allowed to go to school alone.

Migration is also a reason, and there is no documentation at all to locate the whereabouts of families. These are considered dropouts but it may not be the case. A student who leaves school is taken as a dropout but she may be enrolled in another school in another district. Parents also request for a couple of months' leave (authorised absence) to go to Sahiwal (another district- 23.6 mile from Okara) during the wheat harvest season.

There is an overpopulation issue as well (large family size) where mothers have to work (for instance as maids in affluent households) to earn a livelihood. Often girls replace their mothers when they are sick. For them, the middle is the highest class as they say: "we are not going to be a teacher ultimately". Some girls who engage in informal labour such as embroidery or sewing at home become productive in the sense that they earn up to 4000 PKR per month.

Households are not supportive for the education of girls owing to gender-specific roles. Girls normally look after their younger siblings whereas boys go to school.

On average, there are 4-5 girls in every class who have issues of mental capability to continue their studies.

The headteacher of the rural school in Okara said:

Besides poverty, early marriage is a burning issue. For instance, two girls migrated from this area; one of them was married and the other was adopted by her maternal uncle. Exchange marriage (*watta satta*- discussed in Chapter 4) is practised in this area (the above-referred marriage is also an outcome of *watta satta*) which is also a reason of early marriage of the girls as their brother cannot get married unless the girls are married in exchange.

Girls are 16-17 years of age when they reach middle level. There is pressure from the provincial government to show 100 % enrolment. Hence, cosmetic arrangements (such as preparing reports to show increased enrolment) is also resorted to and there is little focus on retaining the students. Teachers are unnecessarily put under pressure; they have to go door to door for enrolment of girls in Grade 6.

Directorate of Staff Development¹⁹² has given elaborate instructions on the educational calendar, homework schedule and library schedule. Teachers have complained about a very lengthy and complex curriculum in Grade 8¹⁹³.

¹⁹² Provincial Department for teachers' training and curriculum development

¹⁹³ I was given a mathematics book as a sample to assess the length and complexity of curriculum.

The headteacher of rural school in RYK said that the high school was about 6 km (3.7 miles) from the middle school; she particularly mentioned the non-availability of electricity and drinking water in the school. I observed this as well during both phases of the fieldwork¹⁹⁴.

The DMO (RYK) said:

Teachers are assigned to go door to door to bring the girls to school. Sometimes they are terrified as some incidents of sexual harassment of teachers have been reported. This is not teachers' job as it should be entrusted to local bodies elected representatives.

In this area, males do not work and remain busy in playing cards. Hence all burden of livelihood rests on females. Males are also addicted to drugs. In the harvesting seasons of crops like cotton and wheat, girls do not come to school and their attendance goes below 80% but the stipend continues to avoid brawls with parents. We simply misreport that huge difference has occurred owing to this intervention but in fact, it is not the case. If this intervention starts from the primary level, it will be more beneficial instead of increasing the amount. However, it will have a negative impact if it is discontinued.

Moreover, the girls enrolled in the public schools have some issues of intellectual ability. Hence, it is an uphill task to upgrade this stuff.

The above comments show that a number of reasons for dropout were identified by the public-sector officials both at the provincial and district level of administration. The main factors causing dropout were: poverty, distance to high school and socio-cultural values about the mobility of girls, the quality of public schools, parental education and their lower awareness levels regarding the benefits of girls' education, migration of families to other cities to find work in the informal sector, working in the fields in the harvest season, large family size and its implications for the older siblings (helping in household chores or family business at the cost of schooling) and the mental ability of girls and their interest in education. The public-sector officials indirectly hinted at the widespread occurrence of temporary dropout; some were sporadic (such as quitting school in harvest season to meet the economic needs of the

¹⁹⁴ There was no electricity in the afore-mentioned school when I conducted the survey and the interviews with the parents of dropouts. I also visited class 8 and Nursery in both schools of RYK. Girls were pale and looked under nourished. A few faces were looking enthusiastic but most of them were giving a dejected look. Moreover, access to safe drinking water due to arsenic contamination is a health risk in RYK (Islam-ul Haq et al. 2012).

family) while others were event dropouts (such as dropout due to death of a parent). However, such temporary dropouts later became permanent dropouts. The awareness level of officials in this context and their understanding of the issue was notable but they were found to be constrained by some major policy decisions (perhaps, taken at some other level). For instance, there is no mention of dropout in the Project Appraisal Document¹⁹⁵; the recommendation of the World Bank as conveyed by its representative about the flat rate of the stipend (that is 200 PKR per month) for all girls was not considered by the provincial government.

The evidence regarding older and permanent dropouts in the survey sample and the mentioning of officials about different forms of temporary dropout alerted me to investigate whether or not the girls who were in Grade 8 (in 2014) were able to make their transition to Grade 9 (in 2015). If not, then what were the causes of their dropout? The next section explores this aspect.

8.3. Exploration of Dropout Causes in the Households

A total of 18 parents of girls were identified by the headteachers of study region whose daughters dropped out in 2015 in Grade 9. They were asked the following question:

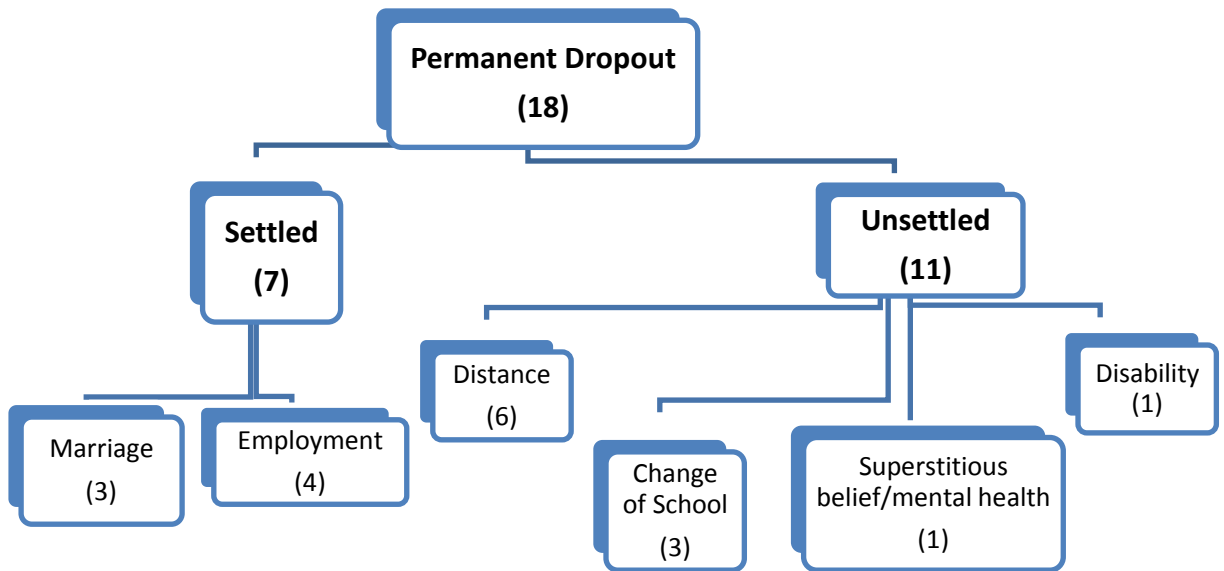
- ❖ Could you please explain that what is the reason behind the dropout of your daughter in Grade 9?

As discussed in Chapter Three drop out from school is a gradual process and its causes vary depending upon circumstances (Huisman & Smit 2009). The analysis of the participants' accounts revealed that the drop out of girls in Grade 9 was a result of different, interlinked factors, for instance, in some cases poverty interlinked with gender while in others gender intersected with culture. However, there was not a single case of temporary dropout; all of them were *permanent dropouts* in 'settled' and

¹⁹⁵ Project Appraisal Document (PAD) is the reference document for a project describing its design and viability.

‘unsettled’ categories¹⁹⁶. The data analysis revealed that ‘settled’ dropout had two sub-categories: marriage and employment whereas the ‘unsettled’ category had four subdivisions: distance, change of school, superstitious belief and disability. This is shown in Figure 8.2.

Figure 8.2: Categories of Dropout



(Source: adapted from Ananga (2011b) and extended by the Author)

Out of 18 permanent dropouts, 7 were settled and 11 were unsettled dropouts. In the settled dropout category, three girls dropped out due to early marriage and four started informal work (embroidery/stitching at home) to supplement family income due to their poverty. In the unsettled dropout category, one had to drop out due to her disability in walking and associated costs of schooling; three girls changed their school- two enrolled in private schools and one in a Madrasah for religious education. Six girls dropped out due to the distance to high school and one girl dropped out due to superstitious beliefs about supernatural things. Table 8.6 gives an idea that which factor caused dropout in each study district¹⁹⁷.

¹⁹⁶ In Chapter Three it was mentioned that a settled dropout is the permanent dropout who engages in a vocation, trade, or other economic activity due to perceived diminishing value of education; whereas the unsettled dropout implies permanently dropping out without any prospects of economic activity (Ananga 2011b).

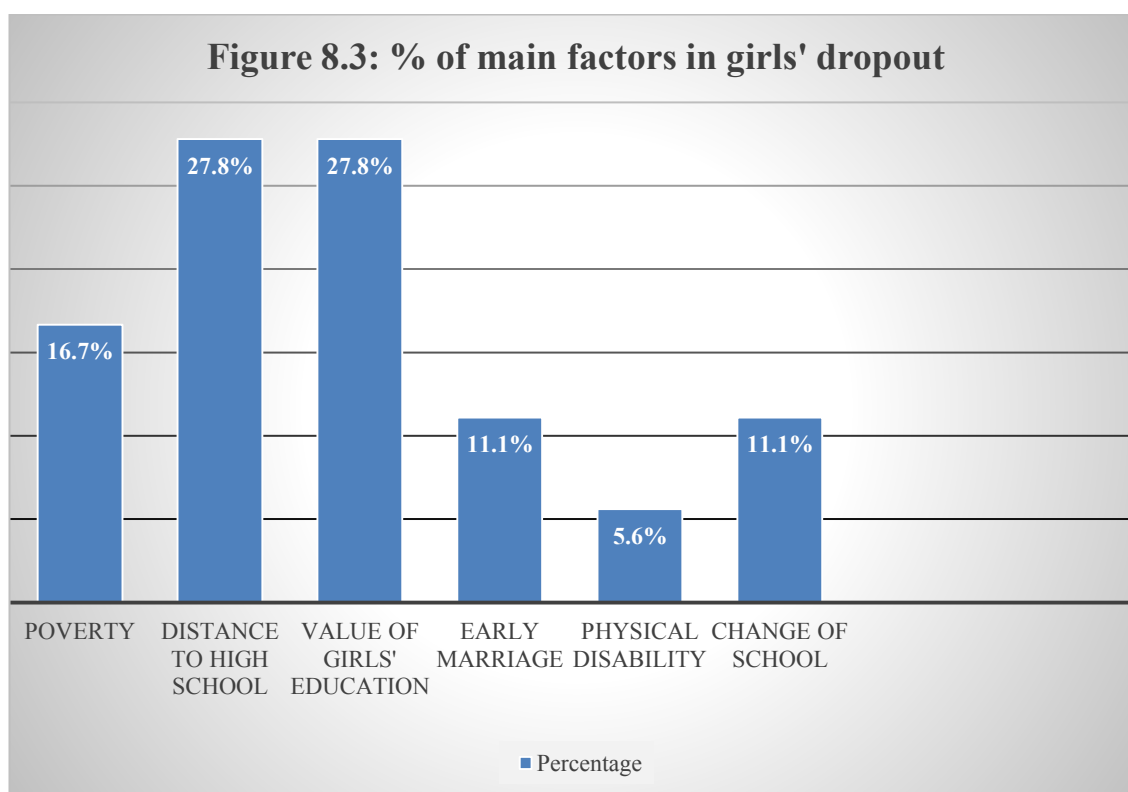
¹⁹⁷ Table 8.6 shows that poverty was the common factor leading to the dropout of girls in all three districts. Other reasons varied by region (districts) and location (rural/urban). In Okara and RYK,

Table 8.6: Dropout by region and location

	Kasur		Okara		RYK	
	Semi-urban	Rural	Semi-urban	Rural	Semi-urban	Rural
Reasons for dropout	Change of school (from public to private)	No dropout	Education making girl rebellious, No educated match for girl in the family	Poverty Distance to high school	Poverty Distance to high school	Superstitious beliefs Poverty
	Physical disability,		Poverty	Early marriage	Education making girl rebellious	Distance to high school
	Poverty		Distance to high school	Large family size		
	Enrolment in <i>Madrasah</i>		Disillusionment with education	Enrolment in <i>Madrasah</i>		

distance to high school was the main factor whereas formal education was devalued by parents of dropouts in all three districts. In Kasur, changing the school from public to private and physical disability were the main factors. In Okara, large family size and the early marriage of girls cause the dropout.

The percentage of the main factors in girls' dropout is shown in Figure 8.3.



The percentage of factors such as distance to high school (27.8%), value given to girls' education (27.8%) and poverty (16.7%) was higher as compared to other factors such as early marriage (11.1%), change of school (11.1%) and physical disability (5.6%). Hence, there is a need to better understand and analyse the factors behind each dropout from a gender perspective to address structural barriers and discriminatory socio-cultural norms to, in and through education that contribute to gender inequality (Subrahmanyam 2016). Danjuma et al. (2011 cited in Alhassan 2015) have also suggested that girls' dropout issue can be resolved by using the experiences of dropout girls as the guide. This study, however, extends this knowledge by using parents' accounts of their daughters' dropout with the aim to explore the intersection of factors that were most predictive of girls' dropout. The next section presents their interview excerpts to gain a richer information about the factors that influenced the decisions of parents to pull their daughters out of school. It also attempts to highlight the need to address the gender norms and values that determine retention of girls in schools.

8.3.1. Material Context causing Girls' Dropout

Poverty

The impact of direct, indirect and opportunity cost of schooling on the educational experiences of girls has been well-documented (see Birdsall et al. 2005; Omwani 2011, Gerver 2013, Khan 2012, World Bank 2012; Winthrop and McGivney 2014; Sperling and Winthrop 2016). The socio-demographic characteristics of the survey sample presented in Chapter 5 and 6 showed that most of the participants in the study lacked economic capital. Chapter 6 particularly presented research findings regarding the impact of parents' economic capital on girls' *rights to education*- that is their access to school. The following accounts will further reveal that poverty influenced not only girls' access to school but also caused their permanent dropout.

A female participant (having no education, a home-maker) said:

My daughter was very good in education and wanted to continue her study but extreme poverty led her to quit school. Our poor financial condition further made the distance to high school a problem because we cannot afford a *rickshaw*¹⁹⁸ to drop her to school. She is now working on '*Addah*' at home¹⁹⁹ and earning up to 750 PKR per week. She wants to go back to school if someone accompanies her to school and pay for the rickshaw cost. Her elder sister wanted to get vocational education instead of normal Matriculation²⁰⁰ or Intermediate²⁰¹. She thinks that in the present circumstances, even after doing Matric or Intermediate, she will be doing the same thing that is embroidery. So why not start it now which is to be done after 3-4 years. Even if the stipend is increased four times, she will not come back to school owing to her own capability to earn.

Another female participant (having no education, a home-maker) said:

I have four sons and two daughters. My husband is ill and not working at all. All responsibilities lie with me for the livelihood of the family. My daughter had to leave school after Grade 8, and now she is doing embroidery work to help the family. She was quite good at school and her teachers wanted her to continue her studies, but I am unable to manage the house singlehandedly. My daughter is now supplementing the family income to survive. Moreover, even after doing Matriculation or Intermediate, there are no prospects of

¹⁹⁸ A three-wheeled paid transport

¹⁹⁹ *Addah* is a large wooden frame used for embroidery work

²⁰⁰ Secondary School Certificate up to Grade 10

²⁰¹ Higher Secondary School Certificate up to Grade 12

employment, and ultimately, she will be doing the same thing after spending another four years in high school and college. So why not start earning now because more education without paid work will fetch more disappointment.

A female participant (having middle level of education, a home-maker) said:

I have two daughters. Both were studying in Grade 8 when their father pulled them out from school. Both were exceptionally brilliant and very favourite students of their respective teachers and the head teacher. Their father, who is a heart patient, forced them to quit school to start embroidery work. Teachers tried their best to retain them and take Grade 8 examination at least but of no avail. They were also offered a special class to prepare for the exam but their father did not agree. The girls were asked to attend the school only for a couple of days in a week but again their father did not accede to this proposal. Even some financial incentive was offered which was not accepted. A few teachers of the school visited our house to convince him but it did not work as well. Then the head teacher came to know that an ex-councillor of the area knows my husband; he was requested to convince the father but he also remained unsuccessful. Because of this tremendous pressure, my husband reacted by beating me as well as our daughters. He suspected that we were managing to exert pressure on him. My daughters and I pleaded with tearful eyes but he did not move from his stance. At last, I approached the head teacher and requested her not to send any body at our place as it brings negative consequences for us. My husband said: *"girls are earning for me as I am disabled and unable to earn. So, stipend does not make any difference to me; I need more money to survive"*. All of those who were trying to convince and pressurise him were taken as conspirators.

The main reason for the above dropouts was their acute poverty. I witnessed that the overall condition of their homes showed material deprivation²⁰². However, the analysis revealed that many other factors were inter-linked with poverty. The first participant was aware of the aspirations of her daughter but was helpless due to their poor economic condition. Distance to high school was a formidable challenge for them to overcome. Had there been any arrangement of picking up and dropping off from the high school, the girl might have continued her study at least to secondary level. The discontinuation of her daughter's education was intensely realised by the interviewee. Besides, the earlier dropout in the family (the elder sister) set an example that merely

²⁰² For instance, in one house there was not even enough furniture for the family members. They had only one chair which they offered me and some of them were standing or sitting on the floor. Most of the houses comprised only of one or two rooms.

attending the school was not a sufficient condition to enhance the skills as the potential of vocational education towards earning was realised by the older sibling.

In the second case, the value and worth of education in finding paid work was challenged by the interviewee. It relates to the earlier research finding discussed in Chapter 7 that primary and secondary education has no relevance with formal labour market and is not helpful in gaining employment. Here the disillusionment with formal education was vivid. The returns to investment in education are influenced by how schooling is converted into human capital and then this capital is converted into earnings (Filmer 2005). In most developing countries, the labour market is highly segregated and is biased in favour of men. Consequently, the prospects of a poor rural woman entering the formal labour market remain bleak (Subrahmanian 2005). Therefore, the rationale for sending girls to school is challenged where education does not enhance opportunities for girls (Wilson 2004).

In the third case, a collaborative effort of the interviewee (mother), teachers and a locally elected leader was seen. Everyone exerted their informal as well as formal influence over girls' father to ensure the continuation of their studies. However, their efforts remained futile as the father did not allow the girls to go to school, thus exercising his dominance and decision-making power and also showing male power through domestic violence (by beating his wife and daughters). The prevalence of domestic violence in Pakistan has been discussed in Chapter Four. In this case, it was a huge constraint on woman's (mother's) agency to facilitate better lives for her daughters. Girls' education was considered a superfluous activity by the father who wanted to rely on their labour to fulfil his needs. This was not only an example of patriarchal attitude (rule of father) but also a case of opportunity cost which would lose in case of the girls attending school. This was also mentioned in Chapter 3 that the preferences of parents in choosing between the work and schooling of children are highly dependent on economic factors which result in short-term trade-offs (Ota and Moffat 2007 cited by Khan 2012).

The above accounts have shown the intersection of poverty and gender that aggravated the exclusion of girls (UNESCO 2015a). The lack of economic capital in the household interfered with girls' education by pulling them from school and pushing

them into child labour. These are not only the cases of educational disadvantage due to the direct and indirect cost of schooling, but the opportunity cost²⁰³ was determining their retention as well as transition into next grade. In such a scenario, a strong relationship between household income and retention and transition can be seen which has the differential effect on the opportunities of children (girls in these cases) at higher levels of education (Lewin 2007).

Physical disability

Chapter 3 mentioned that contribution of disability in causing dropout is a neglected area in the developing countries (UNESCO 2014c). As the following anecdote shows, disability led to dropout after a few years of attending the school when there was no support from the state in this context.

A female participant (having no education, a home-maker) said:

I have five daughters and one son. My husband is a driver who is deputed with a Judge. Due to his exposure of working with a civil servant, he is convinced that education is the only solution through which his family can attain a better living standard. He would prefer to spend on girls' education instead of saving for their dowries. He also favours their joining the labour market. We used to spend the stipend money on school expenses. However, this daughter has dropped out due to her physical disability (she could not walk properly) which was quite distressing for the family. It is not possible for us to support her further due to financial constraints. Since the sole authority of taking decisions in the household lies with my husband, I hope that the younger girls will continue their studies with or without the stipend.

This dropout faced a double disadvantage- one due to poverty and other due to her physical disability which requires additional resources to support her education. Such cases remain unreported and lack of data about children with disabilities does not allow for an in-depth understanding of the educational disadvantage faced by them and link them to education outcomes (UNESCO 2014c). It was not mentioned in the accounts of institutional providers even.

²⁰³ The loss of labour and the resultant earnings of girls due to attending school

Distance to high school

Chapter 3 mentioned the “distance penalty” for girls. This implies that in developing countries, long distances to school pose a barrier to girls' access to schools. Due to the security concerns for their daughters, parents are often reluctant to let them walk long distances (GCE 2005; Andrabi et al. 2007 cited in Qureshi 2015). In this context, a female participant (having no education, a home-maker) said:

I have four daughters and two sons. I am a widow and chronically ill. I tried my best to send my daughter to school even in acute poverty. My daughter was doing well in her school but now I cannot afford it as the high school is very far. I cannot bear the expenses of travelling. I am sick and my sons do not have time to take the responsibility to drop and pick her from school. Therefore, she had to discontinue.

Another female (having primary education, a home-maker) said:

I have five daughters and two sons. My sons have not studied at all, as at the age of 13-14 they started working as labourers. My daughters are very bright and intelligent but could not study beyond Grade 8 owing to the distance of high school from our house which is 5 km (3.1 miles). Had there been a high school in the vicinity, my daughters would have done Matriculation at least. Beyond that is not possible as their father would not have agreed to that. Now my daughters are earning and participating in running the house. Dowry accumulation is not the motive behind their work, they have started embroidery work at home because to send them outside for earning money is not acceptable to their father. Had there been sufficient stipend, say PKR 6000, they would have continued their education.

A female participant (having no education, a home-maker) said:

I have five sons and one daughter. My husband is illiterate and blind; hence, he is confined to home. My two sons are married and bear their expenses. My younger son, who has a donkey cart, runs my household. The income of the household is hardly enough to survive. Not my all sons completed even primary school. Unlike her brothers, my only daughter is very brilliant and used to stand first in class until Grade 8. At that time, her age was 15 years. She loved to study but a couple of factors led her to quit school. Other than poverty, we are concerned about the distance to high school which is 4 km (2.5 miles) far. In given circumstances, we cannot allow her going to school alone for safety reason. The stipend is not enough at all, as it does not provide sufficient support to manage the studies despite all eagerness on the part of my daughter.

A male participant (having no education, working as a mechanic) said:

I have four sons and two daughters. All sons are older than daughters. I am a motor mechanic by profession. My wife is quite ill having multiple conditions like heart, liver and kidneys. My one son studied up to Grade 5 and the other left school when he was studying in Grade 7. One son is deaf and dumb, so, did not go to school at all. The dropout girl studied up to Grade 8 and wanted to continue her studies at high school but school was quite far and to hire a rickshaw for pick and drop is not affordable at all, as my daily income ranges from PKR 100 -200. When she left school after the middle, she was 16 years old which is a normal age range of girls who reach Grade 8 here in this area. The stipend was quite helpful in buying stationery and uniform but it is not that much which could help her continue her studies. My daughter now wants to learn embroidery but there is no vocational institute in the vicinity.

A female participant (having no education, a home-maker) said:

I have three sons and one daughter. My husband is a factory worker and we both are illiterate. My two sons are labourers and one is a welder²⁰⁴. One of my sons studied up to Grade 6 but when he failed in the exam, he left the school. Unlike her brothers, my daughter loves to study and her favourite subject is English. High school is one and half hour away, so it was not literally possible for my daughter to go to school on foot. We have security concerns for her and we cannot afford a rickshaw or van. Now she helps me with household chores.

In the above cases, distance to high school coupled with poverty had a crippling impact on the continuity of girls' education. The absence of a high school and a vocational institute in the vicinity demotivated parents and girls to pursue secondary or further education. Moreover, the distance to school intensified the poverty effects since poor households were unable to cover the travelling cost to school (UNGEI 2014). Distance is also associated with opportunity costs which means that time spent on travelling will imply the greater loss of a child's income coming from working in family farms /business or other productive labour and loss of her contribution in domestic chores. Girls particularly face distinctive barriers as longer distances reinforce security concerns. These in turn may lead to their early marriage preventing their progression and transition (ibid). Here gender was intersecting not only with poverty but also with cultural constraints on the mobility of girls which was an important factor in their

²⁰⁴ A person who fuses materials together

dropout (Jayachandran 2014). Notwithstanding, the parental aspirations for their daughters' education in these cases cannot be undermined which were thwarted by economic inequalities and socio-cultural ideologies about girls' safety.

8.3.2. Gendered Causes of Girls' Dropout

Value of girls' education

Chapter 3 mentioned some axioms such as “caring for a daughter is like watering a neighbour's tree” or “raising a daughter as ploughing someone else's field” (Raynor 2005; Jayachandran 2014) reflecting the view that the investment in a daughter's education is a lost investment and a waste of resources since education is not considered relevant to their reproductive roles (GCE 2005; Raynor 2005; Myers and Harvey 2011); rather, religious education is considered as an alternative to formal education. Girls' education is also viewed in terms of socio-economic returns (lost earnings due to their marriage or lesser labour market opportunities). In the Pakistani context, formal education is also considered as making girls insolent and rebellious and (see Chapter 4). Such perceptions attributed to girls' education are shown in the following excerpts.

A female participant (having no education, a home-maker):

I have five sons and one daughter. The girl has been pulled out of school and has been registered in *madrasah* (religious school) whereas all the boys are going to school for formal education. This is the decision of my husband who takes all decisions in the family. I do not have any role in decision making at home. My husband thinks that our daughter should get religious education which will be sufficient and beneficial for her as she will be married soon. The girl wanted to continue her school education but she could not voice her wishes. She liked her books, classmates, and school but she was denied this right.

A female participant (having no education, a home-maker) said:

I have three daughters. One of them is special. I work in different houses as a maid (house cleaner); my husband does not work at all. We are poverty-stricken. The girl has been pulled out of school because I had immense pressure from the family to get my daughter married. She has become very “buttameez”, “gustaakh”, “zabaan daraaz”, “baaghi”²⁰⁵ after going to school. One aunt of the

²⁰⁵ Urdu words for insolent, vocal and rebel

girl is of the view that this happened because of attending school. Hence, I was forced to pull her out of school. Moreover, the boys in my *biradari* are not literate at all and her education will be a barrier to get her married with someone in the family or to find a suitable match in the whole *biradari*.

Another female participant (having middle level of education, a home-maker) said:

I have six children- three daughters and three sons and we are very poor. It is a matter of our economic survival which led to the dropout of my daughter. There is no utility of doing Matric or even getting further education as the chances of getting employment are quite bleak. If the stipend was increased four times, even then my daughter would not go back to school because she is earning more than that which cannot be substituted by the stipend. There is a need for skills-based education which would be instrumental in securing paid work. All children should learn some skills or vocational education to enhance their chances of getting some employment soon.

A female participant (having no education, a home-maker) said:

I am a housewife and my husband is working as a driver. I have three daughters and two sons. My eldest son did his Matriculation and now he is working as a driver. The youngest son left school when he was in Grade 6. One daughter got married right after doing Matriculation despite her desire to continue her studies. The other daughter attended school until the middle level of education then she quit. She also wanted to study further but she is now doing tailoring work. The youngest daughter, who is a new dropout, was also very enthusiastic about her studies. My youngest daughter used to say, "*I love to write Urdu as well as English*". However, affordability and distance to high school proved major barriers in her dropout. A private school is in the vicinity but its fee is not manageable for us. We are unable to afford a rickshaw for her pick up and drop to school. I used to support her for studying further but my husband did not agree owing to the influence of his brothers and male cousins who were in favour of accumulating dowry items instead of spending on education (spending on education is taken as a waste of hard-earned resources by them). A regrettable incident occurred in our *baradari*- one of the cousins of my daughter eloped with a boy soon after taking her exams in Grade 8 which proved disastrous for many school-going girls in the family and most of them were withdrawn from school.

A male participant (having no education, working as a labourer) said:

I have four daughters and three sons. I am a labourer and my wife is a home-maker. We both are illiterate. Two of my sons and three daughters are married. We live in a joint family. Two sons prepare sweets²⁰⁶ and sell them. The youngest son is studying in Grade 6. The dropout girl attended school up to Grade 8; her cousin was also studying in the same school who used to motivate

²⁰⁶ Traditional Pakistani sweets such as Gulab Jaman, Ras Malai, Cham Cham, Barfi, Jalaibi etc.

her to attend the school. The girl was eager to go to high school but suddenly fell victim to a superstition that she is overpowered by some supernatural power like jinn²⁰⁷ or witch in school. She said that she had seen something with very big nails and teeth, which frightened her; she had one such occurrence at home as well. We thought that she is under some spell, then we called a religious leader of the area who pronounced *aqaan*²⁰⁸ to ward off that spell. We also took her to a doctor twice who gave her some sedating pills. Hence, she is sleeping all the times. Now she has developed a fear of study and high school as well and is not ready to go to school.

In the above cases, the first dropout was the manifestation of gendered perception where boys' education is taken as an investment for future returns, but girls' education is viewed within their reproductive roles as housewives for whom religious education is considered sufficient. In this case, the mother felt totally helpless as she could not support her daughter to continue her formal education. The second dropout resulted due to the perception that education was making the girl vocal, insolent and rebellious which was deemed unacceptable in the socio-cultural context of Pakistan. As discussed earlier, girls' schooling is sometimes considered to inculcate modern thoughts and making girls rebellious to the social norms (Raza & Murad 2010). The interviewee gave the impression that education will undermine her daughter's prospects for marriage if she does not find any match in the family (she could not be married outside the family). Moreover, some close relatives also exerted their influence who thought that marrying a girl early is the only solution to her insolent behaviour. It implies that marriage may also work as a sort of punishment to subdue such girls who want to express themselves. In this case, the mother of dropout girl succumbed to *biradari* pressure which showed a lack of resistance on her part.

In the fourth case, the mother was all supportive but father succumbed to the socio-cultural practice of saving for dowry instead of spending on girls' education. The mother also noted that her extended family does not support girls entering the labour market. In Pakistani culture, it is said (in Urdu): *larkiyon ki kamai khana hamarey liye jaiz nahi* OR *hum ne kon si baiti ki kamai khani hey* - (Translation: 'It is inappropriate for us to eat girls' earnings' OR 'we will not eat our daughter's earnings'). The fifth

²⁰⁷ A supernatural creature in Islamic theology who was created by God with fire

²⁰⁸ A religious call pronounced in mosques to invite prayer

dropout shows that the parents of girls were not aware of education itself; they were respecting the wishes of their daughter until she had a strange experience but that was taken as a spell of some supernatural entity. Initially, the girl was eager to study but due to some superstitious belief, she underwent some “psychological” trauma. It seemed to be a mental health issue (such as hallucination or delusion²⁰⁹); or may be linked to some unhappy event on her journey to school (the details could not be known as the girl was not stable)²¹⁰. This shows the attitudes towards mental health in Pakistan. Javed et al. (2006) argue that this issue has not received systematic attention in developing countries. Different illnesses have different status; some are medicalised and stigmatised while others are not. In certain cases, help from faith healers and religious leaders is sought. In societies, such as India, Pakistan and China, “some supernatural, religious, moralistic, and magical approaches to illness and behaviour exist” which are related to complex cultural, sociological and economic factors that need to be addressed (ibid: 55).

Early marriage

Chapter 3 discussed how girls’ right to schooling is compromised not only by the low value attached to girls’ education but also through the practice of early marriage which is considered the best option by the families facing chronic poverty and also to ensure girls’ virginity, safety and honour. Such practices often remain under-reported or unreported on the pretext that it is a private, cultural and family matter (Myers and Harvey 2011). However, this practice leads to early dropout of girls, even during or soon after completing middle school as is shown below.

²⁰⁹ “Hallucinations are where someone sees, hears, smells, tastes or feels things that don't exist outside their mind” and “a delusion is a belief held with complete conviction, even though it's based on a mistaken, strange or unrealistic view” (NHS 2017).

²¹⁰ The headteacher rural RYK shared with me that she came across an episode in this area where people put a girl in the sun for hours to get her rid of some supernatural entity. By putting the girl in the sun in scorching heat is itself very tormenting and a normal person can go faint and catch the heat stroke owing to the sheer ignorance. The problem could get worst and psychological abnormality may turn into physical as well. That teacher said that once she intervened to rescue a girl who was lying in the sun. She later dropped out. This shows how mental illness is treated in disadvantaged and backward communities in Pakistan.

A female participant (having no education, a home-maker) said:

I have five daughters and four sons. My husband is an illiterate person. He is a labourer working on daily wages. I am chronically ill. My eldest daughter quit after Grade 8 because she wanted her siblings to go to school. However, even other siblings did not study beyond the middle level of education. The last dropout is my younger daughter as she was not allowed by her father to appear in middle school exam and was got married at the age of 17. My daughter cried a lot when she had to quit the school; she used to miss her school and books. It was very painful for her. Here, for girls, the highest level of education is middle, however, for boys, it is not the case in this area. If boys study, parents support them but for girls, attitude and approach are entirely opposite.

A male participant (having no education, a farmer) said:

I have two sons and two daughters. I am a farmer by profession. One of my sons is a mason and the other has gone abroad (Saudi Arabia) where he does some labouring work. Both sons went to school until Grade 7. The elder daughter had to quit school and she started learning to stitch and joined *madrasah* to memorise Holy Quran. The younger daughter who is a recent dropout got married after Grade 8 exams. She wanted to study further as she was a keen learner but we had to get her married to her cousin. Her mother-in-law assured that she would let her continue her study after marriage as she was not willing to delay the marriage until my daughter does her Matriculation. However, my daughter was not allowed to go to school after marriage; her mother-in-law did not fulfil her promise. Moreover, very soon after marriage, she became pregnant. Her husband is a Matriculate and is a mason by profession; he is also helpless in managing the continuation of her studies.

In the first case, being over age for Grade 8 (17 years old) combined with the opportunity cost of not marrying a daughter early proved to be stumbling block for the continuation of education. In Pakistan, girls are considered a burden if their marriage is delayed or no suitable match is found as the opportunity cost of not marrying a girl may be great (see Chapter 3). The second case also shows that although the father of the dropout girl did not object to continuing her schooling after Grade 8, he did not want that at the cost of her marriage by losing the proposal. The mother-in-law promised to let the girl continue her education after marriage but later she backed out. This shows that sometimes in-laws, particularly a mother-in-law, may not prefer an

educated female so that her authority is not being challenged (Raza and Murad 2011) (see Chapter 7).

8.3.3. Role of Private schools in Dropout

Chapter 3 discussed how the institutional regimes of schools (rules, regulations and practices) play a part in pushing children out of school as also shown in the case of following dropouts.

A female participant (having middle level of education, a home-maker) said:

I have two daughters and one son. My husband is a driver. My younger children are going to a private school. My elder daughter left the public school to avoid exams and joined that private school. The private schools advertise to admit those students who do not want to appear in middle school examination. Hence, they are given place in the next grade without any formal assessment (exam/test).

A female (having middle level of education, a home-maker) said:

I have four daughters and one son. My husband is a rickshaw driver. My daughter wants to be a nurse and to achieve that goal she wants to continue her studies. The stipend does not help much but still it matters owing to the acute poverty in my family. However, the reason for leaving this school is that there are different dates for the start of an academic year. For instance, some schools promote their kids in the next grade after December test whereas others do the same in April or September.

The first dropout wanted to be promoted to the next grade without taking the examination, hence, she quit the school. Technically, it is not a dropout, as the girls did not quit school at all; rather they changed it from public to the private school. However, the head teacher considered her as a dropout. The other joined a private school to accompany her siblings and to complete one grade in one educational calendar. There was a family need to manage the education of all children under one institution. In these two cases, there were no out of school factors responsible for the dropout. The institutional regime of schools as discussed in Chapter 3, (that is the mechanism or regulations of the school regarding examinations and different educational calendar), led the participants to enrol their daughters in private schools. Here the public schools were competing with private schools; one losing students and

other attracting them. The unconstrained expansion of low-fee charging private schools is debatable on equity grounds in the sense that they cater to the elite urban areas thus playing a role in the marginalization of the poor. The relative effectiveness of public and private schools in Pakistan often centres around school quality such as reasonably educated teachers, expenditures per student, student-teacher ratios and school facilities (Andrabi et al. 2002; Aslam 2009). Based on these characteristics, it was noted that middle and even lower income groups as well as the rural people tend to utilise the services of low-cost private schools. They were even willing to enrol their daughters in co-educational private schools (Andrabi et al. 2002; Carneiro et al. 2016), as seen in this study that some parents decided to opt out of the public-school system.

The parental accounts presented above helped to explore the process of dropout by highlighting familial conditions and the intersecting causal factors which impacted on the demand for girls' education in the families. The main factors which led parents to withdraw their daughters from school were poverty, distance to school, change of school (from the public to private school and religious school), early marriage, disability and the value placed upon girls' education. Poverty was a common factor in all cases of permanent dropouts. This intersected with gender, culture, location (less or better-developed areas) and other factors such as disability. Some of these findings are consistent with what Khan et al. (2011) noted in terms of challenges in girls' education in Pakistan²¹¹. However, my findings further led me to probe the impact of dropout which is discussed next.

8.4. Impact of Dropout: Capability Deprivation

Despite the increased attention from educational practitioners and institutional providers, dropout remains a serious issue (Witt et al. 2013). Many researchers have investigated the impact of dropout particularly from upper secondary schools. For instance, in Norway, Brekke (2013) found a negative relationship of dropout from upper secondary schools with labour market opportunities. The students who had

²¹¹ For instance, physical accessibility in terms of distance from the school, the absence of a school in a locality and inadequate infrastructure, socio-cultural and religious beliefs, exclusion of females and low parental perception. Besides, poverty, malnutrition, illness, unemployment, child labour, unpaid family labour such as sibling responsibility, cattle grazing and working in the fields are other factors contributing in girls' dropout (Khan et al. 2011).

dropped out belonged to second-generation immigrant youth from Turkey, Morocco, Pakistan, Vietnam, India and Chile, and became less employable due to a lack of formal qualification. They tend to spend long periods out of labour market or entered into the non-standard work contracts and earned less than school completers. In Mexico, Kattan and Szekely (2015) investigated how dropout from upper secondary education prevents transition into higher education. Rumberger and Lim (2008) and Witt et al. (2013) also argue that other than lesser labour market opportunities, the dropouts experience negative outcomes in term of poorer health, higher rates of mortality, development of criminal behaviour and depend on public assistance.

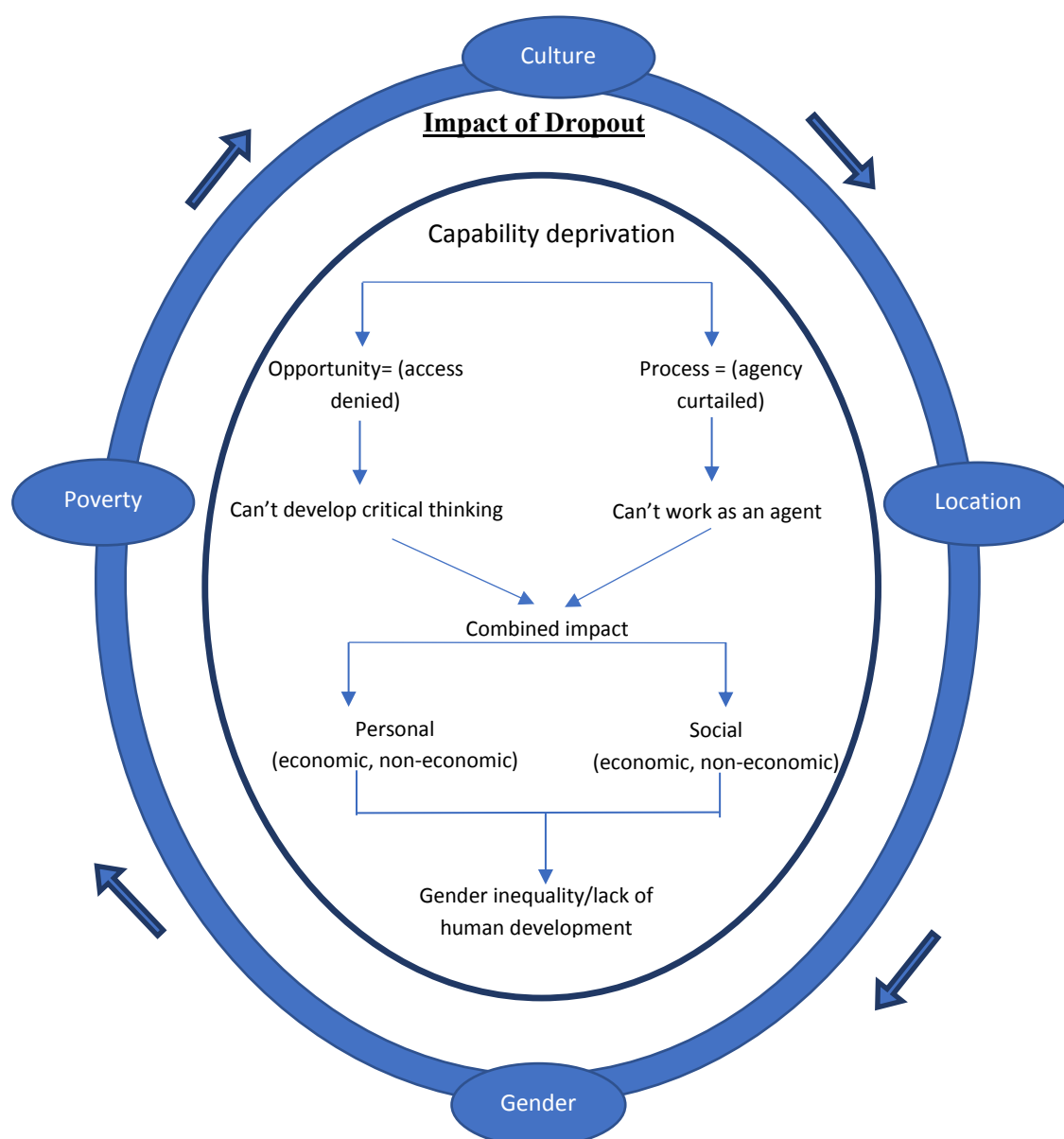
Subrahmanyam (2016) examined the gendered impact of dropout at the household, community and social levels in developing countries including Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Rwanda, Bolivia and Tanzania. The impact of female dropout extends beyond the individual pathways of girls, affecting not only the wellbeing of households but also of communities and societies. At the household level, dropout and the resultant low educational attainment lead to the entrenchment of unequal gender relations. For example, the propensity for or acceptance of domestic violence (the extreme expression of gender inequality at the household level) or the practice of early marriage which perpetuates the subordinate position of girls before they have matured and developed confidence. Such unequal power relations are replicated in communities and societies, for instance, corporal punishment and gender-based violence in schools and lower female labour force participation (Subrahmanyam 2016).

This study acknowledges the above-discussed impact of dropout and extends this towards loss of educational rights in terms of ‘capability deprivation’ put forth by Amartya Sen (1999) (see Chapter Two). This concept is “multidimensional and relational, even in education” (Furniss 2007: 41) as Chapter Two discussed that the capabilities approach is a promising approach to assess social arrangements, such as education policies and programs and inequalities in society (Robeyns, 2006). Since education is one of the basic capabilities (Molla and Gale 2015), therefore, dropout can be understood in terms of a capability deprivation through a loss of access. In other words, it is the denial of substantive freedom to attend school.

This study has shown that poverty or economic deprivation was the leading cause of dropout which influenced girls' educational outcomes. Other forms of non-monetary discrimination (such as disability) intersect with gender ideologies to perpetuate disadvantaged social outcomes for girls. This is compounded by low levels of awareness among parents, particularly due to short-term considerations, such as need for family labour, opportunity cost, potential earnings of girls, and misuse of the GSP to meet their financial needs²¹². Such outcomes are elaborated in the following Figure 8.5 which shows how the impact of dropout is linked to capability deprivation, and ultimately to gender inequality and lack of human development.

²¹² Such as paying electricity bill with the stipend money as mentioned by a headteacher in Okara.

Figure 8.5. Impact of dropout



(Source: Author's construct)

This figure shows the intersection of poverty with gender, culture and location and reveals their contribution in loss of girls' educational rights when parents pull girls out of school. Within this sample, poverty or economic deprivation was the main factor identified at the household and institutional level. The interview excerpts presented above reveal the socio-economic conditions in the sample and show how the families were financially constrained and were struck in a vicious circle of intergenerational

poverty. Out of 18 participants 15 were women who were homemakers and 3 were men employed as a labourer, mechanic or farmer. Most of them had large families having several children (from four to seven). Some of the dropout girls, as mentioned by their parents, were quite good in schools and had high aspirations; however, they had to quit school to supplement the family income. Such financial constraints were the main reason which hindered girls' transition to a high school which was far away. This entailed extra burden on already economically disadvantaged households. It revealed the economic dimension of patriarchy where girls, considered as a reserve army of labour, had to work for the family welfare. In some cases, they took up the traditional role of a male breadwinner at a very young age. The material conditions of the sample intersected with gender as the excerpts show that none of the participants mentioned that she/he had to pull a boy out of school. It was the girls who were forced to quit school due to the wish for their labour at home (doing embroider, stitching or household chores) or in the fields during harvest season. This caused their temporary dropout, sometimes leading to permanent dropout.

Moreover, the impact of dropout on siblings was indicated above explaining the implications of dropout of older children on the younger and particularly on female children (see Section 8.1). Not only this, the lesser levels of education could have serious consequences for the education of next generation in terms of weak bargaining power of the less-educated females to speak for their daughters thus undermining their capability development and social mobility. The situation could become more serious for a disabled dropout who, besides being economically disadvantaged, could lead a life poor in other opportunities.

Further, poverty and gender intersected with cultural norms and gendered practices such as lack of girls' mobility and safety issues combined with early marriages. The distance to high school entails not only an additional financial cost but also implies restricted mobility of girls due to fears for their safety. In Pakistani culture, the virginity of girls is protected to maintain family honour and respect and their chastity is highly valued by men (see Chapter 4). Moreover, the harassment issue on the way to school (such as leering of boys in the streets or following girls up to school/home or touching them while passing) sometimes means that parents withdraw girls from school and marry them early. Sometimes girls also face family/biradari pressures for

early marriages. Such cultural norms are combined with socio-economic returns of female education like the perceptions about a son as a support in the old age of parents and a maintainer/protector of the family while the girls are considered to belong to their husbands and in-laws. This also includes showing disagreement with the empowering impact of girls' education either by parents or other family members when girls assert themselves. Thus, the reinforcement of cultural ideologies shows that "gender-related behaviours depend on cultural background and not just the economic environment one faces" (Jayachandran 2014).

The intersection of poverty, gender and culture with location cannot be overplayed. As the previous chapters 6 and 7 and the evidence presented in this chapter show that there were regional variations between districts. The inter-district comparison revealed that the district of RYK lagged behind than Kasur and Okara in terms of material deprivation and lower parental awareness about girls' education. The rate of girls' retention, transition and dropout also did not improve in RYK. This relates to the overall lower socio-economic development in the district which (see Chapter 5) belonged to Southern Punjab- the most disadvantaged part of the province. The persistent intersection of poverty, gender, culture and location in this district point to the challenges which the GSP could incur in terms of increasing female literacy.

Also, poverty is "the deprivation of basic capabilities rather than merely as lowness of incomes, which is the standard criterion of identification of poverty" (Sen 1999: 87). Although the role of inadequate income in an impoverished life is vital, yet "income is not the only instrument in generating capabilities" (ibid). Education is one of "a relatively small number of centrally important beings and doings that are crucial to well-being", therefore, a deprivation of basic capabilities such as education results in illiteracy (Sen 1992: 44 cited in Walker 2006). Moreover, educational neglect can lead to other kinds of deprivation, for instance, illiterate people have limited ability to understand and invoke their legal rights (Sen 2003a). This tends to be a persistent problem for already socio-economically disadvantaged people, whose rights are often curtailed because of their inability to read and see what they are entitled to demand and how. The educational gap also has a gender connection since women are often deprived (say, to own land, or other property, or to appeal against the unfair judgment and unjust treatment) due to their illiteracy or lower level of education. Therefore,

gender gaps in education can “directly lead to insecurity by distancing the deprived from the ways and means of fighting against that deprivation” (ibid). For instance, we have seen that in the dropout sample, two girls could not challenge the male-dominance and avert the unfair treatment awarded by their father in pulling them out of school and started earning for him; even their mother failed to influence him. Another girl was enrolled in a madrasah misrecognising that only religious education is sufficient for her. Girls who were married early could not speak for themselves and succumbed to family pressure; one girl got pregnant soon after marriage which is suggestive of an increase in fertility and one girl faced unfair judgment for being vocal and expressive. All dropouts had a weak fall-back position in the sense of attaining lesser educational levels, depending on informal, semi-skilled or unskilled work and without any control over their incomes if they had any. All this is suggestive of intergenerational transmission of social and gender inequalities.

There are two aspects of freedom: the opportunity aspect and the process aspect (see Figure 8.5). The first aspect entails “the actual opportunity that people have, given their personal and social circumstances” (Sen 1999: 17). The second aspect relates to the process of choosing between different opportunities. It implies “freedom of actions and decisions” (ibid) and is concerned with the agency aspect of an individual, that is whether it was the choice of an individual to reach something or the constraints imposed by others forced her into it. For instance, in this study some dropout girls wanted to attend school but were forced by their parents to discontinue their education. Their exclusion from education implies lack of access to a basic service; it connotes not only having fewer opportunities to gain knowledge and skills but also means exclusion from gaining paid employment (Furniss 2007). The dropout girls did not have the freedom to make decisions for their lives even if they had the opportunity (that is the availability of school in certain cases). They had opportunity freedom but not process freedom which means that they were unable to exercise their agency. They were not recognised as an agent- as “someone who [can] act and bring about change, and whose achievements can be judged in terms of her own values and objectives” (Sen, 1999: 19). It is argued that education not only strengthens women’s empowerment but their agency also becomes more informed and skilled. This, in turn, works not only for their wellbeing but also for their families and contributes greatly to

human development goals (Sen 1999). However, this did not happen in case of dropout girls in this study due to loss of their educational right as “the ability to exercise freedom may, to a considerable extent, be directly dependent on the education we have received” (2003a: 55). The freedom, however, was denied to the dropout girls. Education is vital in achieving valuable functionings such as being knowledgeable and skilled, being recognized and respected, and accessing instrumental benefits (both personal and social and economic and noneconomic) through employment and enlightenment (Molla and Gale 2015). From this perspective, gender inequality in education is not simply lack of access but is the deprivation of capabilities in terms of limiting the agency of female students and denying them recognition and respect (ibid). Such loss of girls’ educational rights is of serious concern. This has policy implications such as the need to reframe the educational policies and interventions in gender-sensitive, need and context-based ways.

8.5. Conclusion

This chapter has presented research findings regarding the loss of girls’ educational rights in the form of dropout from school. A total of 18 households were interviewed and their excerpts were presented to identify the main reasons of girls’ dropout. A localised exploration of the dropout process highlighted the intersection of different factors at the level of families and at the level of institutional provision that led to an educational disadvantage of girls depriving them of developing their capabilities. A typology of dropout devised by Ananga (2011b) was adapted and extended in this context. The occurrence of dropout in the survey sample revealed that female dropout was greater than male dropout for gender-specific reasons, including distance to school, early marriage and dowry payments. The perspective of institutional providers was presented to ascertain their understanding of dropout issue and the policy implications. The concept of capability deprivation based on Sen’s capability approach was discussed to highlight the impact of dropout on future lives of girls.

The evidence presented in this chapter points to the persistence of poverty and the intergenerational transmission of material inequality. This was a lasting condition in the lives of dropout girls which shaped the process of dropout. It was manifest in the use of stipend money to cover household expenses. The socio-economic

characteristics of the participants were unsupportive and unfavourable for girls' education. These encouraged them to pull girls out of school, in some cases, against the will of their daughters. It also pushed girls into economic activities in the informal sector to supplement the income of their household. For such participants, the stipend was not a sufficient condition to motivate them as the dropout girls became productive and earned more than the stipend. Here a question arises that if a girl is earning 600-700 PKR per week or 4000 PKR per month, would the stipend money of 200 PKR per month attract her and her family when they faced economic deprivation. Conversely, for some participants, the stipend was a great help at least up to middle school. This revealed different levels of perceptions amongst parents about the stipend. Besides poverty, distance from middle to high school was an important factor which influenced girls' access to Grade 9 by restricting their mobility as the issues of girls safety and sexual harassment were particularly important for the sampled families. In some cases, the lower levels of perceived value of girls' education amongst the parents of dropout girls led them to pull their daughters from formal education and enrol them in a *madrasah* on the plea that religious education was sufficient for them. It also included the socio-economic returns of girls' education influenced by the gender role ideology that girls' roles are only reproductive while boys bring more benefits into families through their education and subsequent employment. Thus, the parents of dropout girls were disillusioned with their education and forced them into early marriages. The disability, intellectual capability and mental health issues of dropouts were additional issues which were not acknowledged in the accounts of the institutional providers. In other cases, the role of private schools in attracting the parents (through strategies such as admission without any test or progression into higher grade without examination) to enrol their children in private schools also emerged from the evidence.

Through semi-structured interviews, the perspective of public sector officials was sought on the impact of GSP on the retention, transition and dropout of girls. Although my narrative of dropout relates to permanent (settled and unsettled) dropouts, the accounts of institutional providers revealed temporary (sporadic and event) dropouts. Most of the participants, except those in the district of RYK, agreed that GSP had a positive impact on the retention of girls at least until Grade 8 in the stipend target districts. In RYK, the impact on retention was average in the semi-urban school and

no impact was seen in the rural school. All the participants expressed mixed views regarding the transition of girls into higher grades. For most, the transition was a critical issue linked with demand in the families for girls' education. However, the availability of a high school near the middle school facilitated girls' transition into Grade 9. Except for the rural school in Kasur, dropout occurred in the rest of schools in the study region. The main reason for zero dropout in that school was the stipend money which motivated girls and their parents thus showing a sign of social change, albeit slow. The main reasons identified by the institutional providers causing dropout were poverty, distance to high school, parental awareness about girls' education in the rural areas, quality of public schools, migration of families, harvest season, large family size and disinterest in education by girl students. The district of RYK lagged behind Kasur and Okara in terms of improvement in retention, transition and dropout of girls thus showing persistence of regional inequality in socio-economic and women development and female education.

One important observation is that there was no data for dropout because it was not monitored by the institutional providers. There was not a target for reduction of dropout set in the project design of GSP to be achieved. The institutional providers, perhaps, assumed that an increase in enrolment had led to a decrease in dropout automatically. No information was available in this context on the website of PMIU; neither in the Project Appraisal Document although it had entered into its third phase, nor in the data processing office within PMIU office. The familial and institutional perspectives discussed in this chapter suggest that the process of dropout is multi-dimensional ranging from temporary to permanent dropouts. It is also contextual which implies that unless the nature and characteristics of the critical events in the lives of families and the dropouts are understood to inform policy and practice, any policy intervention intended to prevent dropout or to maintain retention and transition would be a waste of resources (Ananga 2011a).

The next chapter concludes this study and presents some recommendations for institutional providers as well as for future research.

Chapter 9: Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter concludes this study by highlighting the main findings and discussing the implications for policy and future research. The main aim of the study was to analyse the perceived impact of GSP on girls' educational opportunities and outcomes in Punjab, Pakistan. The specific objectives were to identify gender inequalities, in access to and outcomes of educational attainment, at both middle and secondary levels of education; to evaluate gender inequalities within the wider remit of social and gendered structures; and to explore girls' retention in education. Chapter 1 explained the significance of female education and gender gaps in education, the research objectives and the context of the study, Pakistan. Chapter 2 discussed the concepts of sex and gender and elaborated on how gender works as the organising principle of social life and creates gender differences and inequalities. The social construction of gender explains male dominance and women's subordination. Patriarchy as the structural approach to gender inequalities, intersectionality as a tool of multiple disadvantage and gender regimes of social institutions as the basis of gendered practices and norms were discussed. Sen's concept of capabilities was presented as a promising approach to address rights through education in terms of outcomes beyond education. Chapter 3 presented a brief overview of gender inequalities in education in the West and the global neoliberal trend in education. Using a Rights Framework and selected concepts of Pierre Bourdieu including habitus, capital and field, the scale of inequalities and the level of challenges in girls' education in developing countries was discussed in detail. Chapter 4 discussed gender regimes of Pakistan, demonstrating women's disadvantages in different spheres: the state, religion, domestic violence, health, the labour market, education and family. Chapter 5 described the methodology of this study, influenced by a critical realist and a feminist perspective which is critical of an existing situation particularly about power structures, power relationships and their development and tends to put 'others' (i.e. women) at the heart of social inquiry. The research design comprised a case study and a mixed-method approach. The primary data was collected through a survey of 120 participants, 15 semi-structured interviews with public sector officials of provincial and district education departments,

and 18 semi-structured interviews with parents of dropout girls chosen from the survey sample.

Chapters 6, 7 and 8 presented the research findings. Chapter 6 discussed the research findings related to girls' rights to and rights within education in term of access and participation and educational environments. Chapter 7 presented the findings regarding girls' rights through education in terms of the outcomes beyond education: this means the development of capabilities such as bargaining power and empowerment. Chapter 8 discussed girls' loss of educational rights in the form of capability deprivation by dropping out from school. The main findings from these analytical chapters are: the role of parental attitudes, perceptions and mind-sets in girls' education; persistence of gender norms and patriarchal ideologies; mothers' involvement in girls' education; relevance of the curriculum to the labour market; girls' harassment on the way to school; the role of private and religious schools; regional differences; constraints of institutional provision and girls' dropout. These are discussed in the next section.

9.1. Main findings

Parental attitudes and perceptions: The analysis of survey data revealed that most of the participants (both male and female) expressed an awareness of the importance of educating their daughters and the aspiration to provide them with schooling at least until middle or secondary levels. As Ahmed and Zeeshan (2013) argued, apart from facilitating education, stipend programmes may work to change the mind-sets of parents and mould their thinking in favour of positive externalities arising from education. The study participants also acknowledged the inter-generational and instrumental benefits of girls' education and agreed that education would provide a sound fallback position for their daughters in facing any calamity or conflict in their lives. Most of the survey participants acknowledged that if a woman does have enhanced bargaining power after educational attainment, it will have positive implications for her daughter's education and the inter-generational transmission of welfare. These findings are consistent with earlier studies which argued that women's relatively higher levels of education as compared to their parents appear to have a stronger positive impact (see Orrefice and Bercea 2007; Mabsout and Staveren 2010).

For instance, women's intra-household bargaining power has a positive impact on children's health outcomes (Schmidt 2012). The linkage of women's bargaining power with human development outcomes in cultures where men dominate women in household decisions, such as Pakistan, has been noted (Hou 2011). If educated women exercise their decision-making power, they shift the household expenditure from food and transport to allocations for education, medical care, footwear, clothing, fuel and lighting. This suggests that when women gain more power over deciding household spending, they tend to spend more on their commonest activities, such as girls' education (Hou 2011). This denotes that education improves women's bargaining power within households by imparting knowledge, skills and resources, which they can use to make life choices and to improve their welfare, as well as that of future generations (Duflo 2012). On the other hand, such outcomes will not appear if females do not have improved bargaining power.

This study also finds that the GSP had contributed to boosting female enrolment in the study regions as well as to influencing parental perceptions of girls' education and mindsets on gender equality in general. To a large extent, access to education, particularly until the middle level of schooling, does secure girls' rights to and within education through their access and participation, although their rights through education are undermined by the gender norms and patriarchal ideologies prevalent in Pakistan. This aspect is discussed next.

Persistence of gender norms and patriarchal ideologies: Although the majority of participants recognised the importance of girls' education, a substantial number adhered to existing gender norms, patriarchal ideologies and socio-cultural practices. For instance, the gender role ideology of restricting women in the reproductive sphere deprived some girls of formal schooling, pushing them instead into religious schools. Male dominance in household decision-making regarding girls' future lives contributed towards their educational disadvantages. Most women were subordinate to male norms and were unable to challenge male bias in household decisions. For instance, the gendered practices of early marriage and saving for girls' dowries, and giving them dowries irrespective of their education, were persistent factors amongst the sample, working against the human capital development of girls. Moreover, girls were not expected or encouraged to enter the labour market because of their marital

obligations, labour market segregation and insufficient labour market opportunities. In some cases, girls were required to take care of siblings and to manage the household when their mothers had to work; in other cases, they assisted their families by working in the informal sector, such as doing embroidery or sewing at home, or working in the fields during the harvest season. This shows the entrenchment of gender role ideology where girls are expected to perform traditional feminine roles. Moreover, a considerable number of participants also disagreed about the ability of girls to tackle domestic violence even after being educated and being valued by their in-laws. This agrees with the research in Kerala of Arun (2017) that the mere possession of cultural capital (here, education) does not necessarily mean that this resource can bring social advantage; to realise this, the capital must be “effectively activated” and recognised (see Lareau 1989: 179 cited in Arun 2017).

The persistence of gender norms also revealed how this practice (that is, girls’ educational disadvantage) was generated through the interaction of habitus, capital and field. Participants’ habitus (their dispositions/perceptions), their positions in the field (male-dominance in household decision making) and the form and amount of capital (such as the economic capital and bargaining power which men possess as the main breadwinners) worked in unison to influence girls’ access to and participation in education beyond the middle level of schooling. As “a system of lasting ... dispositions” (values and attitudes to gender norms), habitus functioned as a “matrix of perceptions ... and actions” (Bourdieu 1977: 82) and resulted in misrecognition of girls’ education and its benefits.

Masculine domination which is “a somatization of the social relations of domination”, operates through symbolic violence (Bourdieu 2001: 23). Most women in this study reported male dominance and their submissiveness. Men were the ultimate authority in making decisions, such as marriage and further education of girls. Thus, symbolic violence existed in the social order of the participants’ lives and was deeply embedded in the habitus of both dominant and dominated (Krais 2006). Moreover, women were misrecognised by males as not having the right or wisdom to make decisions. This, however, requires some agreement between both agents and particularly complicity on the part of the dominated, who integrate in their habitus the symbolic order of

gender which generates the corresponding actions. This is how gender inequalities are reproduced, if women do not challenge such practices (Brandt 2012).

Emotional capital and gendered work: Wrigley (1992) argued that the perceived role of education in social mobility has transformed people's perceptions of education, thus leading families and mostly mothers to focus on the educational success of their children along with their domestic responsibilities. In this study, the emotional and physical involvement of mothers in their daughters' education was noted as they supported and facilitated it. The mothers were not only trying to provide a favourable environment in their homes but were also managing the educational affairs of their daughters in school. It is an example of gendered work which falls greatly on the shoulders of women; it is not only an investment of the mothers' time but also an investment in their cultural and emotional capital. Women who had attained some level of schooling and who were living in semi-urban areas had greater aspirations for their daughters' education. They were consciously shaping the educational attainment and outcome of their daughters by helping them in their homework, arranging extra tutoring for them, sparing them from household chores and maintaining regular contact with school teachers. Their rural peers, with no or a lower level of education, tried to motivate their daughters verbally, pushing them to do their homework or to study after school. Thus, the mothers passed not only their cultural capital but also their emotional capital on to their daughters in the form of love and affection, care and concern, support, patience, commitment and spending of time. The centrality of mothers to the educational attainment of girls was notable.

These findings are consistent with earlier studies. For instance, Lareau (1992) discussed the activation of cultural capital by gender and argued that the role of gender in the transmission of cultural capital has been ignored in educational research. For instance, educated mothers not only invest their cultural capital in their own careers but also in their children's careers (Wrigley 1992). This implies that they not only provide an intellectually stimulating environment and invest time, but also work as educational managers for their children's education (Lareau 1992). For this, they engage in a number of activities to assist their child toward maximum educational attainment: they monitor their children's performance, maintain contact with the school, receive information from other mothers, and manage specific school problems

(ibid.). In this study, this interesting dimension of gendered work revealed the limited role of men, who depended upon their wives for these activities.

Impact of girls' education on siblings: This study noted a positive impact of older girls' schooling on the educational outcomes of younger siblings, particularly on younger brothers' human capital (in terms of their literacy and numeracy). Some participants acknowledged that older daughters who attained high-school qualifications (Matric or Intermediate) either were assisting younger siblings in their homework or were teaching others in a tuition centre. Moreover, they were also helping their younger brothers and sisters to learn good manners. These inter-sibling education externalities were more fruitful in rural areas where the older sisters were among the first family members to acquire schooling (Qureshi 2015). Giving an additional year of schooling to the oldest sister not only increases the completed years of schooling of a sibling by 0.42 years, but also his probability of being enrolled by 9.6%. It shows that the benefits of female education can even start before they have their own children (ibid.). Similarly, Begum et al. (2012) examined inter-sibling education externalities in Bangladesh by looking at the impact of the gender and educational attainment of older siblings on schooling outcomes of younger siblings. They found that the education of older siblings has a positive effect on the schooling of younger siblings and that this effect is sometimes stronger on younger brothers than on younger sisters. Analysing the stipend programme in Bangladesh, Begum et al. (2012) suggested that if the education of older siblings is increased by one year, then the younger siblings completing schooling would be increased by up to 0.22 years.

Age of girls' marriage: There was a suggestive evidence that the age of girls' marriage would be delayed as a result of their educational participation at the level of high school completion. Those girls who attended middle school (Grades 6-8, age groups 10-14) and completed high school (Grade 10 until the age of 16) fall into this category. However, some instances were reported in rural Kasur and in RYK where the normal age of girls attending middle school was 15-17 years. Although this has implications in terms of overage enrolment for a specific grade, it indicates a delay in girls' marriage. However, this may not be suggestive of a reduction in fertility. For example, one girl who dropped out after the middle level of education to be married became pregnant soon after her marriage. Apart from this, the over-age enrolment

shows slower rates of advancement or lower retention rates. Such students are more likely to drop out, or are less likely to move on to post-secondary education (Lewin and Little 2011). Female students who are over-age tend to dropout more than boys do. This could be a hidden way for female students to experience a double disadvantage. Age inappropriateness exerts a negative effect not only on girls' progression and completion of school but also on their success in post-secondary education. Delayed entry may also impact negatively on occupational outcomes (Wells 2009).

Constraints of institutional provision: The institutional commitment to address gender inequalities is shown in a number of education sector reforms. GSP, initiated in 2004 and now in its third phase, is one of them. The continuity of the project shows the onset of a process of change, albeit a slow one. The physical quality of schools is improving, including the provision of facilities like boundary walls, drinking water, separate toilets and the recruitment of female teachers. The political will also exists as the education sector reforms are directly supervised by the Chief Minister of Punjab. However, this study noted some constraints on educational provision. For instance, the greater distance of the high school was a persistent factor of institutional provision identified by most of the participants, as well as the public-sector officials themselves. Building new high schools at a reasonable distance from the middle schools was not a priority of the provincial government; however, it has serious implications for girls' education. Most of the participants shared their concerns about the harassment and safety issues of their daughters on their way to school and did not allow them to travel alone. As a result, some girls dropped out in Grade 9. The impact of a long distance to school on girls' education has been documented in various studies (see Alam et al. 2009; Andrabi et al. 2007; Jones 2011; Qureshi 2015). Burde and Linden (2013) noted that a programme designed to establish village-based schools in Ghor province of Afghanistan had a significant impact on girls' school participation, substantially reducing the existing gender disparities in educational outcomes. In one village school girls' enrolment increased to 52%, making it 17% higher than for boys. Given the harsh environment in rural Afghan villages, resulting in low enrolment rates of girls, village schools proved to be a viable strategy in getting girls into school.

Due to their disadvantaged socio-economic situation, most of the participants in this study were struggling to finance the schooling of their daughters. They not only suffered material deprivation in terms of inadequate incomes and lack of assets, but often lacked any educational experience themselves. Most of the female participants were dependent on males, and the male participants were employed in semi-skilled or unskilled work as labourers, farmers, shopkeepers, etc. Financial constraints with regard to girls' schooling were partially mediated by the GSP; by sending daughters to school, the stipend worked as a major incentive providing a boost to income and reducing the financial burden in respect of daughters' education. However, most of the participants expressed concerns regarding the insufficient amount of the stipend. They also requested provision of free uniform, books, stationery items and transport facilities for girls, particularly for secondary schools. Physical or mental disability worked as a double disadvantage, pushing girls into lives of poverty if there was insufficient institutional support.

Regional differences: The participants in Okara were more in favour of girls' education than those in Kasur, whereas the participants in RYK, particularly in rural areas, lacked any awareness of the advantages of girls' education. The material context of RYK, compounded with general socio-economic and women's development and a lower rate of adult literacy, influenced parental awareness, perceptions and expectations against girls' education. Thus, the district of RYK had a greater rate of girls' dropout after Grade 8 than Kasur and Okara.

Labour market opportunities: Households generally associate education with formal employment, therefore, primary education is considered a transitional phase which increases the probability of moving into secondary education and entering the labour market (Chimombo et al. 2000). During much of the fieldwork, the majority of participants raised their concerns regarding the availability of paid work for their children, requesting recommendations to the relevant government departments to provide more opportunities in their areas. Parents often appeared to be disillusioned with the educational systems and the relevance of curricula to the daily lives of students. This problem becomes acute for girls when cultural factors combine with subject choices, limiting their progress (Chimombo 2005). Some participants in Okara suggested that the government should guide students in choosing the right subjects,

and stressed the need to provide technical (including ICT) and vocational education for girls so that they could earn their livelihood. They thought that the present curriculum did not develop employability skills. The Education for All (EFA) Global Monitoring Reports (GMRs) lamented that many students in primary education were not acquiring reading, writing and numeracy skills at the expected levels, and that the education systems were not preparing them to meet the demands of the globalised world. Moreover, the poor quality of secondary education and the less than relevant curriculum and content were not connecting young people with the world of work (UNO 2013).

For poor women, paid work is a pathway to both empowerment and reducing poverty (Mahmud and Tasneem 2014). Keeping in view the return from female education, it is important to consider the number of years of schooling that are essential to generate benefits. For instance, to achieve the goal of universal lower secondary level by 2030, children need to stay in school at least nine years (UNESCO 2014b). In Pakistan, girls need to remain in school for an even longer period to realise maximum benefits of female schooling, as their opportunities are also thwarted by cultural norms and conservative attitudes, particularly at the post-secondary level. Most of the participants disagreed about whether the primary and even secondary schooling was a sufficient requirement for the labour market. This also implies that this acquisition of cultural capital (that is attainment up to the secondary level) is unconvertible into economic capital. Basic education now includes lower secondary grades, and universalising access to primary schooling cannot be envisaged without investment in secondary schooling (Lewin 2007; Lewin 2011). The provision of secondary and higher education affects the role of education in advancing occupational mobility and enhancing economic rewards. It is necessary not only to produce able primary teachers but also to meet the needs of a modern economy which requires individuals with analytical capability and skills. In Malaysia, private rate of return (increased labour market earnings) are higher for females than for males at secondary school level, even with only one year of additional schooling (Kenayathulla 2013). The private rate of return loses ground in sending children even to primary school if there is no access to secondary schooling (Birdsall et al. 2005).

The under-employment and unemployment of youth also suggest that the education systems and their mechanisms to develop skills relevant to the labour market are not functioning well. The progress in universal primary education and increased access are not accompanied with good-quality education, which degrades the learning of young lives, reducing their opportunities for social participation. Poor-quality education is common amongst disadvantaged groups, denying them employment opportunities, reducing potential earnings, and failing to offer a better quality of life, thus reinforcing inequalities and inter-generational disadvantages (UNO 2013). This has been substantiated by the comments of the participants who showed their dissatisfaction with the education system; they thought that graduates of the private schools are able to get paid work easily, and some participants even managed to transfer their daughters to private schools. This suggests that the stipend is helpful only in reducing the cost of schooling and increasing the chances of a girl to attend a typical low-quality government school (Lloyd 2013).

Moreover, investing in female education may be seen as of little value if the presence of entrenched socio-cultural norms and gender role ideologies means that women are less likely to be employed and earn less than men, even if they have same level of education (Robyens (2006; Akkoyunlu-Wigley and Wigley 2008). Such norms have further implications for girls' future productivity, particularly their joining the labour market. This suggests that women would have fewer chances of finding paid work and therefore fewer opportunities of changing their lot. The gender differences in schooling occur because the returns on educating boys are considered greater than for girls. In South Asian communities, the return from an additional year of schooling for daughters is low compared to sons. For instance, in certain areas of West Bengal, 86% of parents wanted their daughters to be a homemaker or leave their future to be decided by their in-laws, compared with less than 1% for their sons (Beaman et al. 2011). In this study, many participants expressed the desire to educate their sons for their supportive role in their old age. Thus, for girls and women, equal educational attainment does not materialise into equal rewards in the labour market (Heward 1999). Moreover, if women are discriminated against in the labour market, then the results of investing in their education will be lower than investment in boys' education (Chaaban and Cunningham 2011). If educated girls join the labour market and earn on

a par with men, the income remittances to parents from married adult daughters (who join their husbands' families) may be much lower or even negligible compared with those from adult sons. However, there may be substantial returns from female schooling in non-market production, which are not recognised by the parents²¹³ (Glick and Sahn 2000).

Sexual harassment on the way to school: Connell (1987: 132) states: “the street is not often thought of as an institution”, but is “the setting for much intimidation of women, from low-level harassment ... to physical manhandling and rape”. The safety of girls and the issue of sexual harassment on the way to school was a serious concern for most of the participants. In the socio-cultural context of Pakistan, girls were not allowed to commute to school alone; they were either accompanied by a family member or travelled in groups. As mentioned in Chapter Four, the sexual purity and virginity of women is very important in the Pakistani gender order and has implications for family honour. Therefore, the mobility of girls, particularly those who are coming of age, is strictly monitored by the family. Such gender ideologies and risks are important particularly when travelling to school as they are directly linked with the issues of safety, security and protection of girls' virginity. Adolescence is the critical period in a girl's life when she is at a greater risk of events that may have irreversible negative consequences, such as child marriage, early pregnancy or dropping out of school (Chaaban and Cunningham 2011). In Pakistan, therefore, gender bias means that special transport or a chaperone has to be arranged for daughters in middle and secondary schools, which adds to the cost of schooling for low-income families. Moreover, even schooling itself can be considered a threat to a girl's honour and her marriage prospects if she has contact with boys (King and Winthrop 2015).

Role of private and religious schools: As a result of neoliberal policies, the mushrooming of low-cost private schools, specifically in semi-urban areas, provides a challenge to the public schools in retaining students. These schools, through their policies of admission and examination, lure parents and students, thus engaging in direct competition with the public schools and undermining the effectiveness of the

²¹³ Parents may not be aware of the non-pecuniary benefits (that is the non-economic personal instrumental roles of education) or they may value such benefits less than monetary ones.

latter. Moreover, the voucher scheme of the Punjab government under broader education sector reforms (in collaboration with the private sector) raises questions about the social service provision by the state and the value of the stipend/cash transfer itself. This may divert enrolments from public to low cost private schools and impact on the effectiveness of the public sector educational provision. In addition, the religious schools work as an alternative to modern schooling in preparing girls for their reproductive roles as good wives and mothers (Bradley and Saigol 2012). Thus, in the field of education, different players/actors are involved in competing for legitimacy, as the private and religious schools in this study were holding the high-value cards (Baeck 2009) or the organisational or the institutional capital valued by the parents.

Permanent dropout: The occurrence of permanent dropout of both older boys and girls in the survey sample was noted, although, it was higher among girls for gender-specific reasons such as distance to school and early marriage. Moreover, the dropout from the middle level of schooling was higher in the district of RYK as compared to Kasur and Okara. This has policy implications, in diverting more resources to under-developed and socio-economically disadvantaged areas where the intersection of gender, poverty, culture and location exacerbates gender inequality. The public-sector officials also acknowledged the incidents of temporary as well as permanent dropout even after the launch of GSP. The monitoring of girls' dropout in secondary schools was not, however, the focus of provincial educational policy.

The next section discusses implications for policy and future research.

9.2. Implications for Policy and Future Research

1- It was reported by some head teachers that in order to increase girls' enrolment at primary and middle schooling, they had been directed to go door-to-door to convince parents to enrol their daughters. To fulfil this purpose, they sometimes prepared fake reports showing increased enrolment. This was an extra burden on teachers which should be relieved. They also mentioned a lack of support from the community, including neighbours and locally elected leaders such as councillors. There was no mention of any women's group or NGO working for girls' education. The community including local religious and influential persons and civil society organisations who

might have been expected to be involved in supporting girls' education with the help of the district administration. They could also work as role models to inspire girls and their families.

2- There should be a consistent print and electronic media campaign regarding the benefits of girls' education in general and particularly to raise parental awareness about the impact of gender norms and practices on female education. The breaks during prime-time programmes could be used for such advertising.

3- The role of parental attitudes, perceptions and mind-sets should be acknowledged. In cases where poor families cannot afford transport charges, an increase in the stipend is strongly recommended. However, any misuse of the stipend must also be monitored. Head teachers reported that some parents used the stipend to pay the bills or during harvest seasons, as they needed the money even at the expense of uneven attendance or absence of their girls from school. A mechanism should be devised to monitor temporary dropouts in such cases and particularly permanent dropouts after middle school. The District Monitoring Officers should perform this task as part of their official duty.

4- Compulsory education up to the age of 16 (Grade10/Matriculation) should be legally enforced. Most of the participants said that their daughter's teacher is her role model. It is pertinent to mention here that the criteria for teachers' recruitment was revised in 2014 to hire better-qualified teachers. For this, pre-service degree programmes were introduced consisting of two years Associate Degree in Education (ADE) leading to a four-year Bachelor of Education (Bed.) Honours. The large-scale permanent dropout of girls after middle and secondary education could result in a shortage of female teachers, the future workforce of the education sector. This issue warrants the attention of policy makers as the shortage of sex-segregated schools and female teachers may affect the demand for girls' education. In addition, existing middle schools could be upgraded to high schools to facilitate progression to higher grades and prevent dropout in secondary schools.

5- The secondary schools' curriculum should be aligned with the private sector schools and the labour market demands. There is also a need to establish vocational institutes in the less developed and particularly rural areas so that the dropouts could divert their

potential into other fields and develop their skills in order to earn a better livelihood. These alternative sources of employment would help engaging the dropouts in the community, to prevent the escalation of gendered inequalities and allow for their development. More job opportunities for females should be created within the local context of the districts, beyond the traditional gendered professions such as teaching and nursing.

6- Development funds on an urgent-need-basis should be allocated for the district of RYK, which is more disadvantaged and less developed.

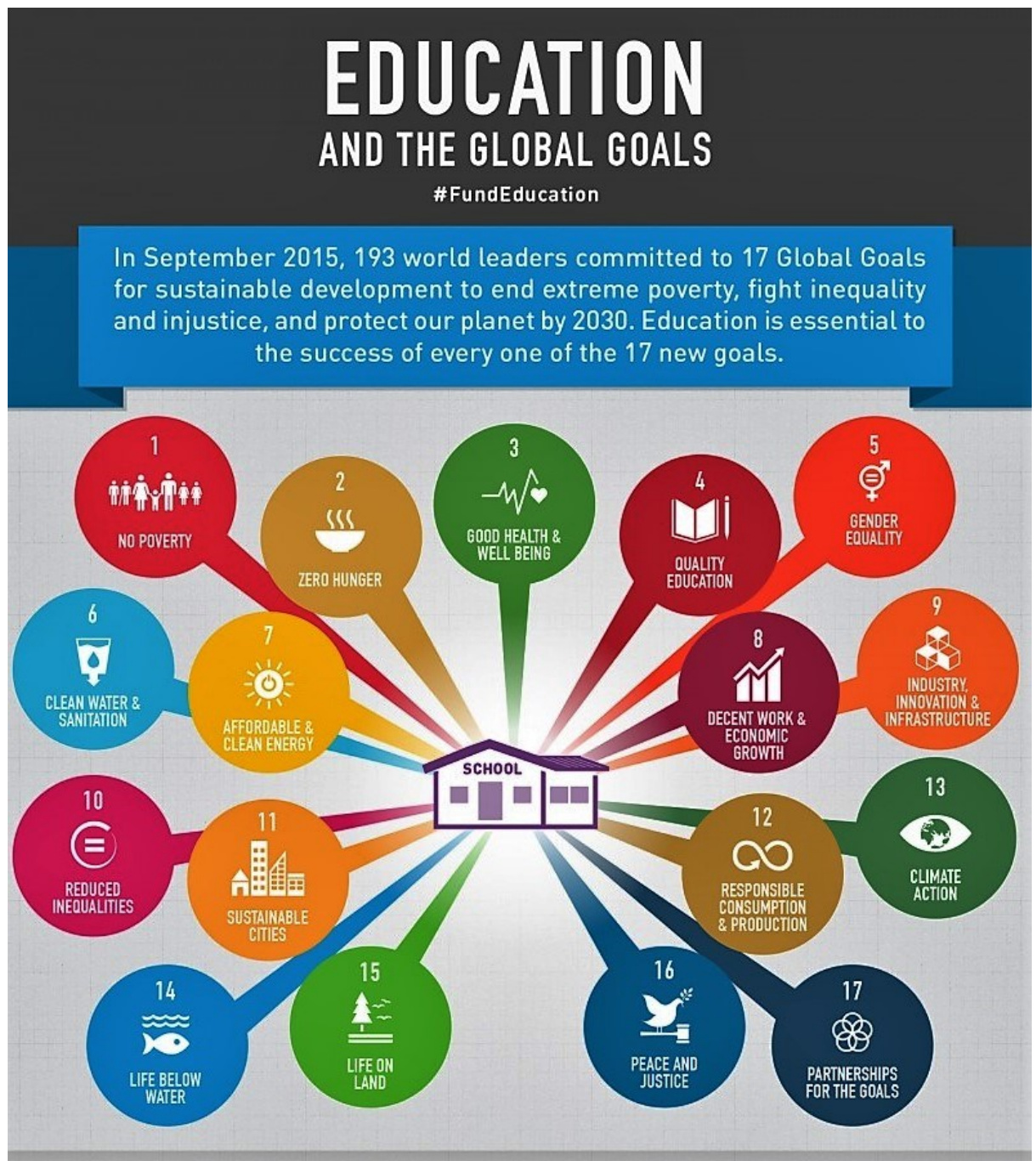
7- The project design of GSP should be revised, making it compulsory for girls to pass a grade instead of just attending school. This study emphasises that educational interventions should be designed holistically to keep in view not only the context and need of the beneficiaries but also their long-term development. Also, while designing educational policies, the cultural context in which the lives of women are characterised by seclusion and dependency should be given due consideration. In assessing national progress, the capabilities of each person should be considered. This approach would make it possible to examine women's lives in their real social setting. It envisions a society which respects each person's dignity, defines a threshold level, and strives to lift them above it. The capabilities of certain groups, families, corporate bodies, or states are not fostered but should be sought for every individual (Nussbaum 2000). The capability approach is not only about freedom but also about the development of an environment in which humans flourish (Walker 2005). The capabilities of women can be supported and enhanced by public policy and their quality of life can be raised significantly through an adequate programme of social services. Individual freedoms are influenced by substantive public support through the provision of facilities such as education that are vital for the formation and application of human capabilities (Sen 1999). As Nussbaum (2000: 238) contends, "to secure a capability to a person it is not sufficient to produce good internal states of readiness to act. It is necessary, as well, to prepare the material and institutional environment so that people are actually able to function". For instance, among different communities, families and individuals, there is a relationship between low income and low capability (such as literacy), which can be altered by public action. The state and planners should formulate policies which enhance human capabilities (Anand and Sen 1996 cited in Rai 2002; Sen 1999). It

should be goal of public policy that all the citizens are provided with a basic level of support for their capabilities. If public policy fails to provide this, it is unjust (Nussbaum 2000). Therefore, wellbeing and development should be discussed in relation to the functioning and capabilities of individuals.

As discussed in Chapter Five, this study has some limitations. Geography was a major constraint as safety and security considerations did not allow the researcher to visit the district of Rajanpur, which has the lowest adult literacy rate in the country. Moreover, probing gender issues in the presence of men in the households proved to be difficult, as female participants needed the permission of their husbands to participate in the survey and semi-structured interviews. Future research should therefore build on these findings to overcome such limitations. For example, it would be useful to undertake a long-term impact evaluation of education interventions such as CCTs and GSPs. Men should be included in future research to probe the gendered experiences of girls' education. In this study, fewer men responded to the survey than women, due to their daytime work. Given the shortage of time and the financial constraints, this study was not able to engage girls in interviews unsupervised by their parents. A girlhood research on the lived experiences of young girls would result in a more nuanced understanding of gender inequalities in education. Assessment of the beneficiaries, and follow-up studies on temporary and permanent dropouts, should also be carried out.

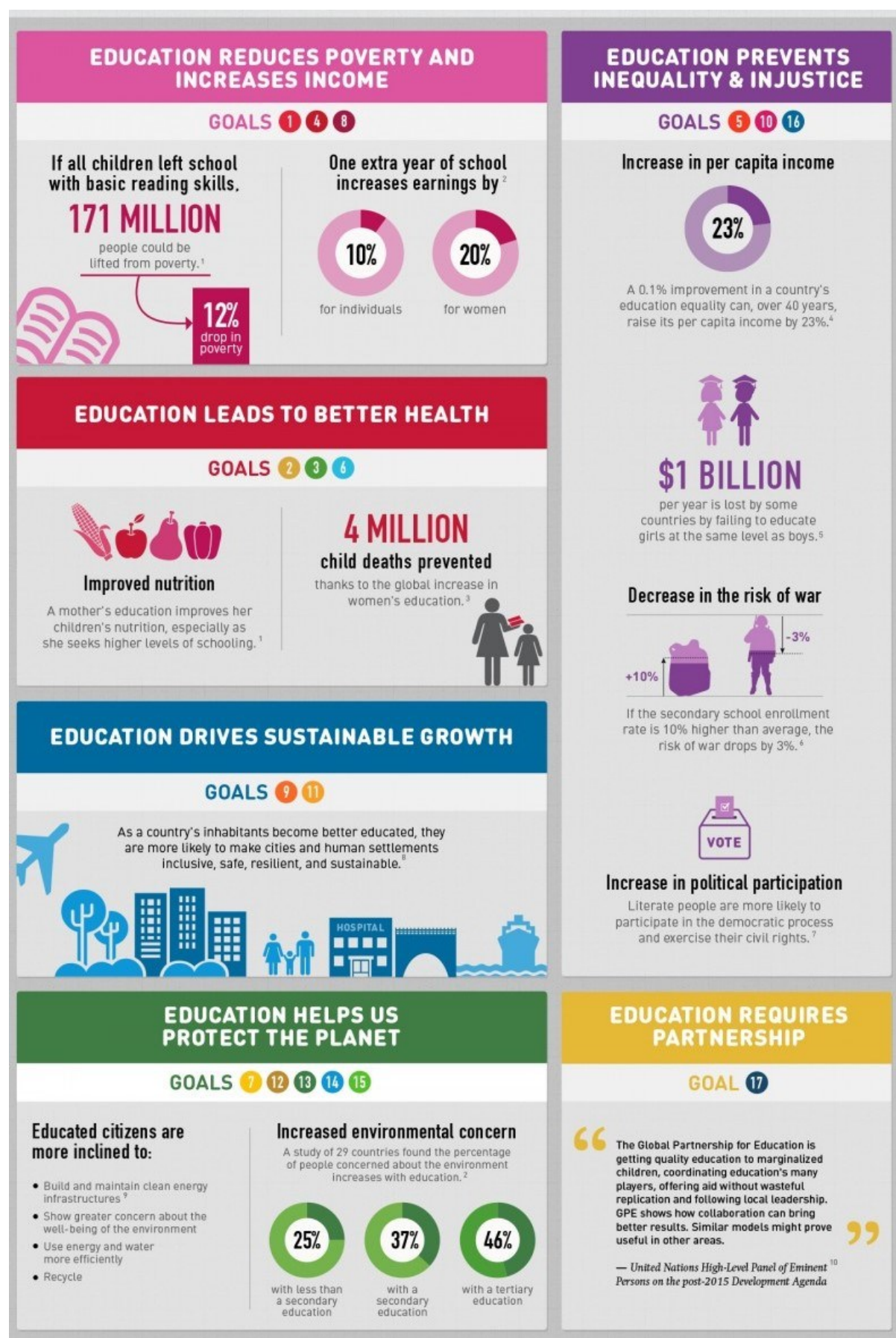
Appendices 1-10

Appendix 1: Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 2016-2030



Source: Global Partnership for Education

<http://www.globalpartnership.org/multimedia/infographic/education-and-global-goals> accessed online on 15-03-2016



Goal 4: Ensure inclusive and quality education for all and promote lifelong learning

- By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and Goal-4 effective learning outcomes
- By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys have access to quality early childhood development, care and pre-primary education so that they are ready for primary education
- By 2030, ensure equal access for all women and men to affordable and quality technical, vocational and tertiary education, including university
- By 2030, substantially increase the number of youth and adults who have relevant skills, including technical and vocational skills, for employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship
- By 2030, eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and children in vulnerable situations
- By 2030, ensure that all youth and a substantial proportion of adults, both men and women, achieve literacy and numeracy
- By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development
- Build and upgrade education facilities that are child, disability and gender sensitive and provide safe, nonviolent, inclusive and effective learning environments for all
- By 2020, substantially expand globally the number of scholarships available to developing countries, in particular least developed countries, small island developing States and African countries, for enrolment in higher education, including vocational training and information and communications technology, technical, engineering and scientific programmes, in developed countries and other developing countries
- By 2030, substantially increase the supply of qualified teachers, including through international cooperation for teacher training in developing countries, especially least developed countries and small island developing states

(Source: UNO 2016)

Appendix 2: Central human functional capabilities

1. Life. Being able to live to the end of a human life of normal length; not dying prematurely, or before one's life is so diminished as to be not worth living.

2. Bodily health. Being able to have good health, including reproductive health; to be adequately nourished; to have adequate shelter.

3. Bodily integrity. Being able to move freely from place to place; to be secure against violent assault, including sexual assault and domestic violence; having opportunities for sexual satisfaction and for choice in matters of reproduction.

4. Senses, imagination and thought. Being able to use the senses, to imagine, think and reason and to do these things in a truly human way, a way informed and cultivated by an adequate education, including, but by no means limited to, literacy and basic mathematical and scientific training. Being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experiencing and producing works and events of one's own choice, religious, literary, musical, and so forth. Being able to use one's mind in ways protected by guarantees of freedom of expression with respect to both political and artistic speech, and freedom of religious exercise. Being able to have pleasurable experiences, and to avoid non-necessary pain.

5. Emotions. Being able to have attachments to things and people outside ourselves; to love those who love and care for us, to grieve at their absence; in general, to love, to grieve, to experience longing, gratitude, and justified anger. Not having one's emotional development blighted by fear and anxiety. (Supporting this capability means supporting forms of human association that can be shown to be crucial in people's development).

6. Practical reason. Being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life (which entails protection for the liberty of conscience).

7. Affiliation.

A. Being able to live with and toward others, to recognize and show concern for other human beings, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to be able to imagine the situation of another and to have compassion for that situation; to have the capability for both justice and friendship. (Protecting this capability means protecting institutions that constitute and nourish such forms of affiliation, and also protecting the freedom of assembly and political speech.)

B. Having the social bases of self-respect and non-humiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others. This entails protections

Appendices

against discrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, religion, caste, ethnicity, or national origin.

8. Other species. Being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants and the world of nature.

9. Play. Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities.

10. Control over one's environment.

A. Political. Being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one's life; having the right of political participation, protections of free speech and association.

B. Material. Being able to hold property (both land and movable goods); having the right to seek employment on an equal basis with others; having freedom from unwarranted search and seizure. In work, being able to work as a human being, exercising practical reason and entering into meaningful relationships of mutual recognition with other workers.

(Source: Nussbaum 1999: 235)

Appendix 3: Questionnaire

Questionnaire No:

Date:

Region:

Note: Please tick the correct answer inside the parenthesis ()

A- Socio-demographic Information

(1). Gender: female () male ()

(2). What is your age?

- 20- 30 ()
- 31- 40 ()
- 41- 50 ()
- 51 -60 ()

(3) Residence

- Semi- Urban ()
- Rural ()

(4). Educational background

- No formal education ()
- Primary school ()
- Middle School ()
- Secondary school ()
- Higher Secondary ()
- Bachelors ()
- Masters ()
- Any other, please specify

(5). Do you work?

- Yes ()
- No ()

(6). If yes, what is your job?

- Government Employee ()
- Farmer/ Agriculture ()
- Fishery/ Poultry ()
- Labourer ()
- Factory worker ()
- Business/ Self-employed ()
- Daily Wages ()
- Private employee ()
- Other () Please mention

(7). Marital status

Appendices

- Single ()
- Married ()
- Divorced ()
- Widow ()

(8). What social class you think you belong to?

- Middle class ()
- Poor class ()
- Very poor class ()

(9). What is your monthly family income from all sources?

- Below 10, 000 PKR ()
- 10,000- 20,000 PKR ()
- 20,000- 30,000 PKR ()
- 30,000- 40,000 PKR ()
- 40,000- 50,000 PKR ()
- 50,000- 60,000 PKR ()
- 60,000- 70,000 PKR ()
- Don't know ()

(10). Your income is

- Individual ()
- Joint ()

(11). Number of children you have ()

(12). Please describe the sex of your children in the table given below:

No of male child/children	No of female child/children

(13). Number of school going children ()

- How many male child/children going to school ()
- How many female child/children going to school ()

B- Information about Dropouts

(14). Has any of your children dropped out from school?

Appendices

Yes ()

No ()

(15). If yes, please provide the following details

Total no of dropouts	No of male dropouts	No of female dropouts

(16). Please indicate the relevant reason of dropout from the following

Reason of dropout	For male child	For female child	Not Relevant
a. Direct/indirect Cost (fee, uniform, books, stationary, travelling cost etc)			
b. Opportunity Cost (loss of child labour in case of child going to school)			
c. School distance			
d. Facilities in school (boundary wall, separate toilet, drinking water, class room etc.)			
e. Harassment			
f. Repetition of grades/disinterest			
g. Relevance of curriculum to formal labour market			
h. Dowry			
i. Early Marriage			
j. Lack of female teachers			
k. Sickness/disability			
l. Death of a family member			
m. Harvest season			
n. Other			

(17). Please indicate the impact of dropout from the following

Impact of dropout	On girls	On boys	Both	Not relevant
a. Delayed marriage				
b. Unemployment				
c. Underemployment (low-paid job)				

Appendices

d. Health issues (due to lack of awareness)				
e. Lack of confidence				
f. Low social status				

C- Attitudes and Perceptions about girls' education

(18). What do you think the education is? (For each statement below, please rate the extent of your agreement or disagreement).

Education is a	Strongly agree	agree	Neither agree nor disagree	disagree	Strongly disagree
a) Need					
b) Human right					
c) Means to an end i.e. (enhanced capabilities, empowerment, improved decision making, increased earnings, better quality of life, self-satisfaction)					
d) Or an end in itself (a resource, capital or commodity to be used only for paid employment)					
e) Luxury					

(19). What are your views about girls' education (For each statement, please rate the extent of your agreement or disagreement).

Girls' education	Strongly agree	agree	Neither agree nor disagree	disagree	Strongly disagree
a) If you are given a choice to send one child to school, you will send your daughter					
b) You would try your best to give your daughter at least secondary education					
c) If you are given some incentive, you will let your daughter					

Appendices

complete higher levels of education					
d) You think that the proper role of a girl is in the reproductive sphere					
e) You prefer to save money for the dowry/marriage of your daughter instead of spending it on her education					
f) You prefer to marry off your daughter as soon as she reaches puberty or a suitable match is found thus taking her off from school					
g) You would find at least an equally educated match for your daughter					
h) If your daughter is educated, you would like her to enter into formal labour market					

(20). How do you perceive the impact if girls' education: (For each statement, please rate the extent of your agreement or disagreement).

Impact of Girls' education	Strongly agree	agree	Neither agree nor disagree	disagree	Strongly disagree
14. If your daughter gets primary education, she will get a good job					
15. Secondary level of education will open more economic opportunities for your daughter					
16. If your daughter is educated, you do not need to give dowry for her marriage					
17. An educated daughter can improve her bargaining position in the family after marriage					
18. An educated and earning daughter has a sound fall-back position (in case of conflict or calamities)					
19. An educated daughter can tackle domestic violence if she faces it					

Appendices

20. An educated and earning daughter will be an asset to her in-laws					
21. An educated daughter can look after her wellbeing as well as her children and family					
22. The education of your daughter will have spill over effect in terms of educating the next generation and particularly girls thus breaking the vicious cycle of illiteracy and poverty					
23. If your daughter is educated, she will be more empowered					
24. If your daughter is educated she can make better decisions about her life					
25. If your daughter is educated she will become aware of her rights					
26. The education of girls is not only beneficial to them and their families but also to the development of their country					

D- Views on Education system

(21). What are your views on the quality of public schools (For each statement, please rate the extent of your agreement or disagreement)

Quality of School	Strongly agree	agree	Neither agree nor disagree	disagree	Strongly disagree
a) Schooling for your daughter is affordable to you					
b) The school of your daughter is too far from your home (more than 1km=0.6 miles)					
c) The journey of your daughter to school is safe					
d) Your daughter feels safe inside the school (a girl friendly school), any					

Appendices

harassment, bullying, intimidation or other issue					
e) The school has a proper building and boundary wall					
f) The drinking water is available in the school					
g) There are separate toilets for girls in the school					
h) The school/classrooms are over-crowded					
i) Your daughter is taught by female teachers					
j) The curriculum has no link with the employment/no relevance to formal labour market					
k) Your daughter has to do errand tasks in school (cleaning, cooking, stitching etc.)					
l) The teachers of your daughter give her proper attention in the class					
m) The teacher of your daughter has a low opinion about her ability					
n) Your daughter's teacher is her role model					
o) Parents' meetings are held at school to discuss the progress of your daughter					

(22). Is your daughter entitled to any of the following:

- Abolition of fee Yes () No ()
- Free books Yes () No ()
- Stipend Yes () No () **How much is the stipend: Rs.....**

(23). If yes, please express your views on the above-mentioned government interventions.

(For each statement, please rate the extent of your agreement or disagreement).

Appendices

Government Interventions (abolition of fee, free books, stipends)	Strongly agree	agree	Neither agree nor disagree	disagree	Strongly disagree
a) You enrolled your daughter in the school after the above government interventions					
b) You feel motivated with this kind of government support towards' girls' education					
c) You think it is the right step taken by the government					
d) You think government should do more than this					
e) The abolition of fee and provision of free books can enhance enrolment					
f) The provision of stipends can improve retention					
g) These interventions have positive impact on dropout					
h) Your daughter has to attend school regularly to ensure continuance of fee, books and/or stipend					
i) Such incentives have helped in smooth transition of your daughter from primary to secondary school					
j) Such interventions should continue beyond primary and secondary education					
k) Free books are given on time					
l) The stipend is given on time					
m) The government staff involved in the disbursement is very supportive					

E- Views on Parental and Community Involvement

(24). Does your daughter have a role model in the family (e.g. cousins or uncle and aunts) or in the neighbourhood who is educated and who is a source of inspiration for her?

- Yes ()
- No ()

(25). If yes, who is the role model.....

Appendices

(26). If you are mother, are you more involved in your daughter's education?

- Yes ()
- No ()

(27). If yes, please describe your level of involvement below.

.....

(28). If you are father, are you more involved in your daughter's education?

- Yes ()
- No ()

(29). If yes, please describe your level of involvement below.

.....

(30). Do the community/ neighbourhood/religious leaders support girls' education?

- Yes ()
- No ()

(31). What kind of political support you expect for girls' education?

.....

(32). Do you think that the present wave of fundamentalism/conflict/terrorism will affect girls' education in your region? For instance, the destruction of girls' schools in Swat, Mingora and other areas or religious intolerance towards minorities or suicide bomb blasts etc.

- Yes ()
- No ()
- Don't know
- Prefer not to say

(33). Do you have any knowledge of Gender Responsive Budgeting or any other initiative about girls' education

- Yes ()
- No ()

Note: The last question became irrelevant as a wake of closure of Gender Responsive Budgeting Initiative.

Appendix 4: Interview Guide for public sector officials

A- Concepts of Gender and Gender Equality

- 1- What do understand by gender? Do you think it is a variable or can you explain this in terms of relations?
- 2- What are your views about gender equality?
- 3- Have you attended any training about these concepts?
- 4- Are these concepts interlinked or different?
- 5- Do you favour these ideas?
- 6- Do you think these concepts are relevant in the context of Pakistan?
- 7- Do you think these concepts should be applied in Pakistan?
- 8- To which extent these concepts have been institutionalised (in organisational thinking and practices).
- 9- Do you have any idea about the state of gender inequalities in your region, particularly in education?
- 10- Do you have any knowledge about policies to address gender inequalities?

B- Gender Issues in Education

- 1- Do you know where Pakistan and Punjab stand in terms of literacy?
- 2- What do you think the causes of low female literacy rate are?
- 3- Which factor is more important in your views?
- 4- Where do you think much responsibility lies (household, state)?
- 5- Do you think education in Pakistan has a quality issue (infrastructure, teachers, and curriculum)?
- 6- What should be the role of Education Department?
- 7- What are your perceptions about patriarchal practices in the family and the wider community?
- 8- Do you think patriarchal attitudes and male bias work in development policy for education?
- 9- How to overcome these?

C- Gender targeted expenditure

- 1- What is your perception about gender-targeted expenditure?
- 2- What is the vision behind it?
- 3- Is it not a foreign model applied in Pakistan- how it is adapted?
- 4- How it will attain universal goals relating to education?
- 5- What is the present scope/ position of funding for stipend project?

- 6- Do you think targeted expenditure is a better way to address gender inequalities in education?
- 7- What are the outputs/achievements- any obstacles, political will?
- 8- What about gender sensitive training of employees?
- 9- Is the budget of Education Sector increased or reprioritised?
- 10- What government aims to achieve in relation to MDGs and EFA goals (the current goals are SDG – sustainable Development Goals 2015-2030).

D- Impact of Girls Stipend Programme

- 1- What is the impact of stipend on female illiteracy?
- 2- Has enrolment of girls increased after this initiative and dropout decreased?
- 3- Should the policy focus on girl' safety, honour e.g. reducing harassment? Do you think that distance to school matters?
- 4- Does it have any impact on retention as well?
- 5- How transition to next level (from middle to secondary) will be ensured?
- 6- Will this programme improve girl's entry into higher education and formal labour market?
- 7- What is the response of girls and their parents to this incentive i.e. girls' status in family, community and society is improving or not?
- 8- Do you think this programme has helped in changing the mind-set of people (keeping in view the socio-cultural norms about son-preference, early marriages of girls, saving money for dowries, mobility issues, restrictions on mobility, harassment and safety issues etc?).
- 9- Do you think this programme will have positive impact on development outcomes like reducing fertility, child and maternal mortality, and capabilities development like women empowerment and their participation in labour market?
- 10- Do you think that the parents are motivated to educate their girls or they just want the monthly financial assistance?
- 11- Are you aware of any other initiatives to improve quality of education as a part of this project?
- 12- Do you think this policy should be continued beyond secondary level of education?
- 13- What are foreseen fall outs if this policy is discontinued?
- 14- What are the limitations of this programme and how it can be improved?
- 15- What is the level of donors' involvement now (comparison from the inception of the project in terms of their role in addition to funding e.g. monitoring, reviews, evaluations etc?)
- 16- Do you think donors should remain involved or the Government should take over the whole responsibility- what is the actual situation? What are your views about govt. ownership?

Appendices

- 17- What political support do you expect in this context?
- 18- What is the role of top management in supporting this initiative?
- 19- What is the role of personnel at district level in implementing this initiative?
- 20- What about role of community and religious leaders in supporting/resisting educational change?
- 21- What will happen if WB stops funding?
- 22- Where do you see Pakistan and education in post MDG scenario?
- 23- Is there any recent impact evaluation of the stipend programme (i.e. in 2015? Or after 2015?)

Appendix 5: An overview of the fieldwork

Phase I (March-May 2014)	Phase II (April-June 2015)
A survey was conducted with the 120 parents of girls studying in Grade 8 in public schools of the selected districts. A number of 60 participants responded in the district of Kasur while 30 in Okara and 30 in RYK responded. Informal discussion with the parents was also carried out alongside the survey to clarify the survey items and to guide the conversation.	18 follow-up interviews were conducted with the parents of those girls who dropped out from school. These participants were chosen from the sample selected during Phase I of the fieldwork. The purpose was to explore the progression of girl students from Grade 8 to Grade 9.
6 semi-structured interviews were conducted with the head teachers of 6 selected schools in the chosen districts.	3 semi-structured interviews were conducted with the district education officers of the chosen districts.
1 semi-structured interview was conducted with an official of the Department of School Education at provincial level.	1 semi-structured interview was conducted with the project director of GSP based at provincial headquarter Lahore.
3 semi-structured interviews were conducted with project management staff based at provincial headquarter Lahore.	1 semi-structured interview was conducted with an official of World Bank in Islamabad (capital of Pakistan) who was dealing with the GSP.

Appendix 6: Ethical Checklist and Approval



ETHICS CHECK LIST

The checklist overleaf must be completed before commencement of any research project. Note that ALL projects MUST have a risk assessment attached to this form. Please also refer to the University's Academic Ethical Framework

(www.mmu.ac.uk/sas/govandsec/pdf/policy_ref_Academic_Ethical_Framework) and the

University's Guidelines on Good Research Practice

(http://www.red.mmu.ac.uk/?pageparent=4&page_id=110).

Name of applicant (Principal Investigator): Fariha Tajammal	
Telephone Number: 07552666321	01612703270
Email address: farihatajammal@hotmail.com 12108279@stu.mmu.ac.uk	
Status:	Postgraduate Student (Research) part time
Department/School/Other Unit:	Sociology
Programme of study (if applicable): MPhil with a possibility of transfer to PhD	
Name of supervisor/Line manager: Dr. Shoba Arun Dr. Susie Jacobs	
Project Title: Impact of Gender Responsive Budgeting on Gender Equality: a case study of the Education Sector in Pakistan	
Brief description of project activities: This research will be evaluative in nature, aiming to investigate and analyse the impact of the Gender Responsive Budgeting (GRB) initiative on gender inequalities in the education sector of Pakistan. The specific objectives of the study are to (1) Explore the institutionalisation of GRB in the education sector specifically in relation to budgetary allocations (2) Identify gender inequalities, in both access to and outcomes of education attainment, at both primary and secondary levels (3) Evaluate the changes referred to in (1) and (2) within the wider remit of social and gendered structures.	

Appendices

Does the project require NHS National Research Ethics Service (NRES) approval? If yes, has approval been granted by NRES? Attach copy of letter of approval.	NO
---	----

Ethics Checklist

You MUST answer ALL questions

	Yes	No
1. Are you are gathering data from people? If Yes please attach evidence of consent?	Yes. The consent form is attached	
2. If you are gathering data from people, have you attached a sample document explaining your approach to maintaining confidentiality and which each individual will sign their agreement.	Information sheet is attached and people will sign the consent form	
3. Have you addressed data protection issues – relating to storing and disposing of data? Is this in an auditable form?	Yes	
4. Have you addressed the issue of informing participants about your project work and ensuring that they are aware of what you are doing?	Yes information sheet is attached	
5. Will the study involve recruitment of patients or staff through the NHS, or involve NHS resources? If yes, you may need full ethical approval from the NHS.		√
6. Does the study involve participants who are particularly vulnerable or unable to give informed consent (e.g. children, people with learning disabilities, your own students)?		√
7. Will the study require the co-operation of a gatekeeper for initial access to the groups or individuals to be recruited (e.g. students at school, members of self-help group, nursing home residents)?		

Appendices

		√
8.	Will the study involve the use of participants' images or sensitive data (e.g. participants personal details stored electronically, image capture techniques)?	√
9.	Will the study involve discussion of sensitive topics (e.g. sexual activity, drug use)?	√

Ethics Checklist (continued)

You MUST answer ALL questions

	Yes	No
10. Could the study induce psychological stress or anxiety or cause harm or negative consequences beyond the risks encountered in normal life?		√
11. Will blood or tissue samples be obtained from participants?		√
12. Are drugs, placebos or other substances (e.g. food substances, vitamins) to be administered to the study participants or will the study involve invasive, intrusive or potentially harmful procedures of any kind?		√
13. Is pain or more than mild discomfort likely to result from the study?		√
14. Will the study involve prolonged or repetitive testing?		√
15. Will it be necessary for participants to take part in the study without their knowledge and informed consent at the time (e.g. covert observation of people in non-public places)?		√
16. Will financial inducements (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants?		√
17. Does any relationship exist between the researcher(s) and the participant(s), other than that		

Appendices

required by the activities associated with the project (e.g., fellow students, staff, etc)?		√
---	--	---

Approval for the above-named proposal is granted

I confirm that there are no ethical issues requiring further consideration.

Signature of Supervisor (for students), or Manager (for staff):

Date

NB Any subsequent changes to the nature of the project will require a review of the ethical consideration(s).

Approval for the proposal is not granted

I confirm that there are ethical issues requiring further consideration and will refer the project proposal to the Faculty Research Group Officer.

Signature of Supervisor (for students), or Manager (for staff):

Date

Notes for Researchers, Managers and Supervisors

1. Approved applications

If 'NO' is the response for **ALL** questions, the manager/supervisor should approve the study, retain the original signed form and the agreed risk assessment and return a copy to the originator.

If the answer to **ANY** of questions **1 to 4** is **YES** then appropriate evidence must be provided by the originator to satisfy the manager/supervisor that the correct measures are in place to address minor ethical considerations. If the manager/supervisor is satisfied that issues have been addressed appropriately s/he should approve the study, retain the original signed form and the agreed risk assessment and return a copy to the originator.

Appendices

Undergraduate and taught higher degree students should submit a copy of the form bound in at the end of their research report or dissertation.

MPhil/PhD, and other higher degree by research, students should include a copy with their application for registration (RD1).

Members of staff should send a copy to their Research Group Officer before commencement of the project.

2. Applications requiring further scrutiny

If the answer to **ANY** of the questions **5-17** is **YES** then the researcher will need to submit plans for addressing the ethical issues raised using the 'Application for Ethical Approval' form which should be submitted to the relevant Faculty Research Group Officer. This can be obtained from the University website

(www.mmu.ac.uk/sas/minutes/Briefing_Note_Academic_Ethics_Procedures_Appendix_2_Modified_MMU_Application_Ethical_Approval.pdf).

Forms submitted to the Research Group Officer will be passed to the Faculty's Head of Academic Ethics who will arrange for an internal scrutineer's report and recommendations to be sent for consideration by Academic Ethics Committee.

If the answer to **question 5** was **YES**, the researcher may also need to submit an application to the appropriate external health authority ethics committee, via the National Research Ethics Service (NRES), found at <http://www.nres.npsa.nhs.uk/> and attach a copy to the 'Application for Ethical Approval'.

Please note that it is the researcher's responsibility to follow the University's Guidelines on Good Research Practice and any relevant academic or professional guidelines in the conduct of the study. **This includes providing appropriate information sheets and consent forms, and ensuring confidentiality in the storage and use of data.** Any significant change in the question, design or conduct over the course of the research should be notified to the Supervisor or Manager and may require a new application for ethics approval.

Faculty of Humanities, Languages and Social Sciences
(Manchester Metropolitan University)

July 2013

Dr Shoba Arun
Department of Sociology

Geoffrey Manton Building Rosamond Street West
Off Oxford Road Manchester

M15 6LL
United Kingdom
Website

<http://www2.hlss.mmu.ac.uk/>

Dear Dr. Arun,

Application for Research Degree Registration: Fariha Taiammal

I am pleased to inform you as Director of Studies for the above-named applicant, that she has been registered by the Faculty Research Degrees Committee as a candidate for the degree of Master of Philosophy (with possibility of transfer to Doctor of Philosophy). Listed below are details of the approved registration, information concerning the possibility of transferring registration and the proposal of examiners.

REGISTRATION DETAILS

Title of Programme of Research

Impact of Gender Responsive Budgeting on Gender Equality: a case study of the Education Sector in Pakistan

Other Supervisors

Dr Susie Jacobs

Collaborating Establishment(s)

None

Date of Registration and Duration

The period of registration will be 36 months part-time from the effective date of registration, which is recorded as 09 October 2012, subject to the conditions specified in University Regulation 27.1. The

candidate is expected to submit her thesis by the end of that period and reach conferment within 48 months from the effective date of registration. Please note that failure to submit the thesis by the stated submission date will incur non-submission fees.

TRANSFER OF REGISTRATION

University Regulations (23.1-23.4) provide for the possibility of transfer to Doctor of Philosophy candidature. Should the candidate wish to apply to transfer, the application should be submitted well in advance of the expected date of completion of the work, and not less than 18 months from the date of registration.

At the transfer stage, the Research Degrees Committee will require assurances that:

- a) the candidate's progress has been satisfactory;
- b) the programme is expected to lead to a significant contribution to knowledge and the candidate is capable of pursuing the programme to completion,
- c) the candidate has made satisfactory progress with the supporting programme.

The Research Degrees Committee will require the candidate's full transfer report together with a short abstract.

PROPOSAL OF EXAMINERS

As Director of Studies you will need to propose the examiners to the Research Degrees Committee for approval at least three months before the expected date of the examination - University Regulations 32.1-32.13.

I enclose a list of key dates for your records. A copy of this letter and list of key dates have been sent directly to the candidate.

I would be grateful if you could inform the other member(s) of the supervisory team of their appointment.

Yours sincerely,



Deborah Bown
HI-SS Faculty Research Administrator
GM 212, Geoffrey Manton Building

Tel: +44 (0) 161247.1744

d.bown@mmu.ac.uk

cc: Departmental Research
Degrees Coordinator
Applicant

enc: Key Dates
Scrutineer's comments

MPhil Key Dates

Registration No	Sex	Mode	Course	AcadPeriod	Status	Sequence	Qualification
12108279	F	PT	4296	13/14	PR	1	MPHIL

Name	Mrs Fariha Tajammal
------	---------------------

Department	Sociology
Faculty	Faculty of Humanities, Languages & Social Science

Programme Title: Impact of Gender Responsive Budgeting on Gender Equality: A case study of the
Education Sector in Pakistan

Collaborating Institute

Director of Studies	Dr Shoba ARUN
Supervisor 1	Dr Susie JACOBS
Supervisor 2	
Adviser	
Mentor	

Funded

Effective Date of Registration	09 Oct 2012
Date for Submission of MPhil Thesis	09 Oct 2015
Conferment Date of MPhil Thesis	09 Oct 2016

Date for applying for transfer of registration to PhD

Transfer Approved Date
Exam Arrangements Approved

Examiners

Independent Chair

Independent Internal Examiner -

Appendices

Email
External Examiner 1
Email
External Examiner 2
Email

Withdrawal Date
Conferment Date
Submission Date

Comment	RDI approved at FRDC 05-JUN-2013.
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Appendices

THE MANCHESTER METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY FACULTY OF HUMANITIES, LANGUAGES AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

FACULTY RESEARCH DEGREES COMMITTEE

SCRUTINEER'S REPORT ON APPLICATION FOR MA/MSc/LLM/MPhil/PhD

(delete as appropriate)

Please complete all sections. Where comments are added, these may, at the discretion of the FRDC, be forwarded to the supervisory team/candidate for information.

Name of Candidate: Fariha Tajammal	
Title of Proposal: Impact of Gender Responsive Budgeting on Gender Equality: a case study of the Education Sector in Pakistan	
Name of Scrutineer:	
Extension no:	Email address:
A CANDIDATE	
Are the candidate's <u>qualifications</u> appropriate for entry at this level?	Yes
Comments/recommendation: Yes, the MA in International Development and Public Policy Management is clearly linked to the PhD	
B SUPERVISORY TEAM	
Are supervision arrangements appropriate? (The team overall should have expertise and experience in the subject area and at least two completions at a comparable or	Yes

Appendices

	higher level than the award applied for.)	
	Comments/recommendation: The team are highly experienced and international experts in fields strongly linked to the candidates' area of study.	
c	SUPPORT	
	Are the support arrangements appropriate?	Yes
	Comments/recommendation: Are proposed workload allocations for supervisors and DOS adequate?	

THE PROPOSAL		
I	<u>Proposed title</u> Is the proposed title appropriate?	Yes
	Comments/recommendation:	
2	<u>Academic aims</u> Are the aims clearly presented and appropriate to the proposed project?	Yes
	Comments/recommendation: The aims are well focussed and clearly expressed.	
3	<u>Description of research to be undertaken</u> (i) Is the context and	Yes

Appendices

	purpose of the research clearly described?	
	Comments/recommendation:	
	(ii) If a PhD proposal, will there be a significant contribution to knowledge?	Yes
	Comments/recommendation: The proposal research is innovative and timely.	
4	<u>Methodology</u> Is the methodology clear and appropriate to the aims?	Yes
	Comments/recommendation: The methodology is robust. The attention to detail here is impressive. However, as the candidate doesn't come for a 'pure' Sociology background participation in research methods seminars/events would be useful.	
5	<u>Viability</u> Is the project viable and manageable within the permitted timescale?	Yes
	Comments/recommendation:	
6	<u>Level</u> Is the proposal appropriate to the level of the proposed award?	Yes
	Comments/recommendation:	

Appendices

7	<u>Ethical issues</u> Have any ethical issues been appropriately addressed?	Yes
	Comments/recommendation: These appear to have been well thought through.	
8	<u>Backdating</u> Is backdating appropriate (if requested)?	Not applicable
E RECOMMENDATION		
	Do you recommend that the FRDC approve the application?	Yes
	Recommendation if 'No' (tick as appropriate): Revised proposal to be submitted for Chair's action Revised proposal to be submitted to the full Committee	
F	ADDITIONAL ADVICE TO SUPERVISORY TEAM/APPLICANT:	
	Fariha should be encouraged to participate in seminars and other events on research methods, sociology of education and intersectional gender studies.	

The completed form should be submitted to Deborah Bown either in hard copy or by email to dobown@mmu.ac.uk

Appendix 7: Risk Assessment

For the purposes of research, the researcher will gather data through primary research in the Punjab province of Pakistan, using a triangulation of methods, comprising of semi-structured interviews with public sector officials and questionnaires to parents (father and mothers) of girls in both primary and secondary schools. There is no physical or psychological risk involved for the researcher or the participants, due to the following grounds:

Since the researcher herself belongs to the provincial civil service of Pakistan and has permission of the provincial government to pursue her research degree, therefore, it is hoped that her colleagues and senior officials will extend all necessary help in data collection (See attached evidence). Moreover, the government of Pakistan is committed to enhancing the skill and capacity building of its administrative and professional staffs, thus several colleagues of the researcher are pursuing their research degrees in the UK on different areas of public policy planning, with the support of the state, which is another incentive for carrying out the study. In addition to this, the recent gender reforms, particularly in relation to women's development and the education of girls is a key reform area, which is on the policy agenda of the national and provincial governments particularly in the province of Punjab. All these factors are anticipated to provide support to the study, thus reducing any kind of risk.

The researcher will conduct semi-structured interviews with several public-sector officials based in the provincial secretariat within the district of Lahore, where all offices are in close vicinity to each other, thus reducing the need for much travelling. There may be some hazards, due to the official engagements of the participants, which will be accommodated through advanced planning and time management.

As far as the survey is concerned, the questionnaire does not intend to address vulnerable groups, and only parents (both mothers and fathers), who will be selected randomly from school registers, will be requested to participate voluntarily either within the school premises or in their homes. No sensitive and personal data is required for this research, as the questionnaire will relate to issues such as educational choices, outcomes, and views about public expenditure.

The researcher's natal family is based in the district of Lahore in the province of Punjab, which will aid towards her security and safety, for example, they will be informed about all trips during fieldwork, and provide help with travelling safely to all locations.

All participants will be given an information sheet and the consent form (copies attached), and wherever required they will be informed in local languages, such as Urdu/Punjabi, about the nature of the project. Their participation will be voluntary, and can be withdrawn at any time. They will be assured of confidentiality and anonymity about their responses and the usage of data (written and recorded).

Appendix 8: Participant Information Sheet

Research Project Title: Gender Inequalities in Education: a case study of the Girls Stipend Programme in Punjab, Pakistan

I, Fariha Tajammal, invite you to participate in the research as an interviewee. In the following paragraph, you can find background information and objectives of this research, which will enable you to decide whether to participate, or not.

Gender equality is one of the desired goals in both the Education for All (EFA) agenda for 2015 and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Globally, for every 100 boys, 120 girls are out of school. There are different barriers to girls' education that relate to lack of infrastructure, issues of harassment, lack of female teachers, quality of curriculum, distance from home and workloads which not only affect the performance of their studies, but also the transition rate from primary to secondary level. Female education has both intrinsic and instrumental importance, in terms of economic, social and cultural potential and development. The GSP is a global development and educational intervention to increase girls' enrolment thus reducing gender inequality and poverty. The aim of my research project is to examine the impact of the GSP in Pakistan, with particular focus on girls' education in Punjab.

You have been selected as an interviewee owing to your role in relation to this project. The interview will last around 30 minutes approximately. There will be about 15 interviewees in total. Most of the questions will be open-ended, and in- depth in nature. Therefore, I will need your independent opinion without any prejudice. The questions posed to you will relate to the above-mentioned objective of the project. However, you can refuse to answer any question.

I will be using recording media, but this is exclusively for the analysis in this research. This recording will not be used for any other purpose, nor will anyone be granted access (excluding my supervisors) without your prior permission. You can refuse to record your views at any stage.

Appendices

Your participation in this research is voluntary, and you may withdraw yourself at any point of time without assigning any reason.

The advantage of participating in this research is that you are contributing towards understanding a significant social phenomenon i.e. gender equality in the education sector and the impact of budgetary allocations on it.

There are no risks or disadvantages involved as your name/position will remain anonymous and unidentifiable.

If you have any further query regarding this research you can contact me.....
or my supervisor, Dr.Shoba Arun, Senior Lecturer, Department of Sociology,
Manchester Metropolitan University at s.arun@mmu.ac.uk or 00441612473439

You will be given a copy of this information sheet along with the consent form to keep record.

Thank you very much for your time.

Appendix 9: Participant Consent Form

Title of Research Project:

Gender Inequalities in Education: a case study of the Girls Stipend Programme in Punjab, Pakistan

Name of Researcher: Fariha Tajammal

Participant Identification Number for this project:

Please

initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated _____ explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.

☐

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline.

☐

3. I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research.

☐

4. I agree to take part in the above research project.

☐

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Fariha Tajammal
(Researcher)

Date

Signature

Appendix 10: Tables 1, 2, 3, 4,5 and Figures 1,2

Table 1: Working status of the Participants

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Working	68	56.7	56.7	56.7
	Not working	52	43.3	43.3	100.0
	Total	120	100.0	100.0	

Table 2: Working status of the participants by gender and region

Region				working		Total
				yes	no	
Kasur	gender of respondents	female	Count	20	28	48
			% within gender of respondents	41.7%	58.3%	100.0%
		male	Count	11	1	12
			% within gender of respondents	91.7%	8.3%	100.0%
	Total		Count	31	29	60
			% within gender of respondents	51.7%	48.3%	100.0%
Okara	gender of respondents	female	Count	6	15	21
			% within gender of respondents	28.6%	71.4%	100.0%
		male	Count	9	0	9
			% within gender of respondents	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Total		Count	15	15	30
			% within gender of respondents	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
RYK	gender of respondents	female	Count	10	8	18
			% within gender of respondents	55.6%	44.4%	100.0%
		male	Count	12	0	12
			% within gender of respondents	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Total		Count	22	8	30
			% within gender of respondents	73.3%	26.7%	100.0%
Total	gender of respondents	female	Count	36	51	87
			% within gender of respondents	41.4%	58.6%	100.0%
		male	Count	32	1	33
			% within gender of respondents	97.0%	3.0%	100.0%
	Total		Count	68	52	120
			% within gender of respondents	56.7%	43.3%	100.0%

Table 3: Monthly Income of Households by Gender and Region

		Monthly Income of a Household					Total
		below 10,000 PKR	10,000- 30,000 PKR	30,000- 40,000 PKR	40,000- 50,000 PKR	50,000- 60,000 PKR	
gender of respondents	female	Count 41 47.1%	42 48.2%	2 2.3%	1 1.2%	1 1.2%	87 100.0%
	male	Count 3 9.1%	25 75.7%	4 12.1%	0 0.0%	1 3.0%	33 100.0%
	Total	Count 44 36.7%	67 55.8%	6 5.0%	1 0.8%	2 1.7%	120 100.0%
		% within gender of respondents					

Views regarding socio-cultural norms by Class and Education

Social class	Son /daughter preference			Gender-role ideology			Saving for dowry			Early marriage			finding equally educated			Labour force participation		
	A	D	N	A	D	N	A	D	N	A	D	N	A	D	N	A	D	N
Middle	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Lower Middle	6	2	1	3	6	0	1	7	1	3	5	1	7	1	1	6	0	3
Poor	33	15	17	14	28	23	14	39	21	15	32	18	42	6	17	38	13	14
Very Poor	24	10	11	20	11	14	13	25	8	12	26	7	27	4	14	22	1	22
Total	64	27	29	37	45	38	28	63	30	30	64	26	77	11	32	66	15	39
Education																		
No education	27	15	12	18	15	21	17	21	16	16	27	11	29	3	22	25	6	23
Primary	11	6	9	9	7	9	6	6	12	8	13	6	17	3	6	13	4	9
Middle	8	3	4	4	8	6	2	10	3	3	8	4	12	3	0	11	3	1
Secondary	15	1	2	2	11	0	2	14	2	2	13	3	14	2	2	12	1	5
BA	0	1	1	1	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	2	0	0
MA	3	1	0	0	2	1	1	3	0	2	1	1	4	0	0	3	1	0
Other	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
Total	64	27	29	29	45	38	28	62	30	30	64	26	77	11	32	66	15	39

A: Agree

D: Disagree

N: Neutral

Table 5: Total number of dropouts amongst survey sample by region

			Total no of dropouts							Total	
			0	1	2	3	4	5	6		7
Region	Kasur	Count	32	12	6	3	1	4	2	0	60
		% within region	53.3%	20.0%	10.0%	5.0%	1.7%	6.7%	3.3%	0.0%	100.0%
	Okara	Count	17	7	2	2	1	0	0	1	30
		% within region	56.7%	23.3%	6.7%	6.7%	3.3%	0.0%	0.0%	3.3%	100.0%
	RY K	Count	10	5	8	6	1	0	0	0	30
		% within region	33.3%	16.7%	26.7%	20.0%	3.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	59	24	16	11	3	4	2	1	120
		% within region	49.2%	20.0%	13.3%	9.2%	2.5%	3.3%	1.7%	0.8%	100.0%

Figure 1: Scree Plot depicting factor extraction

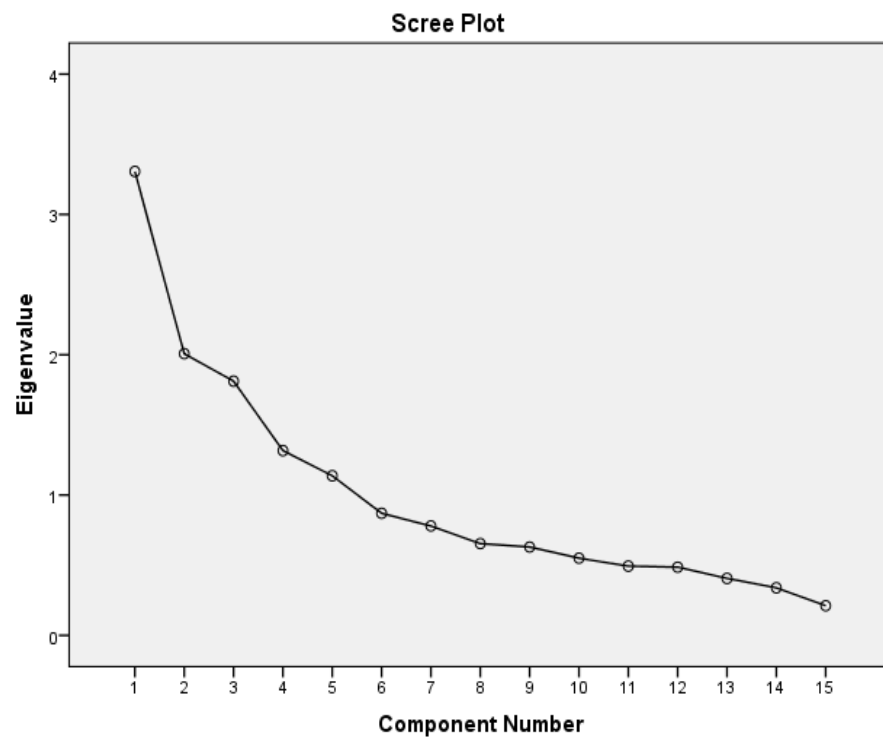
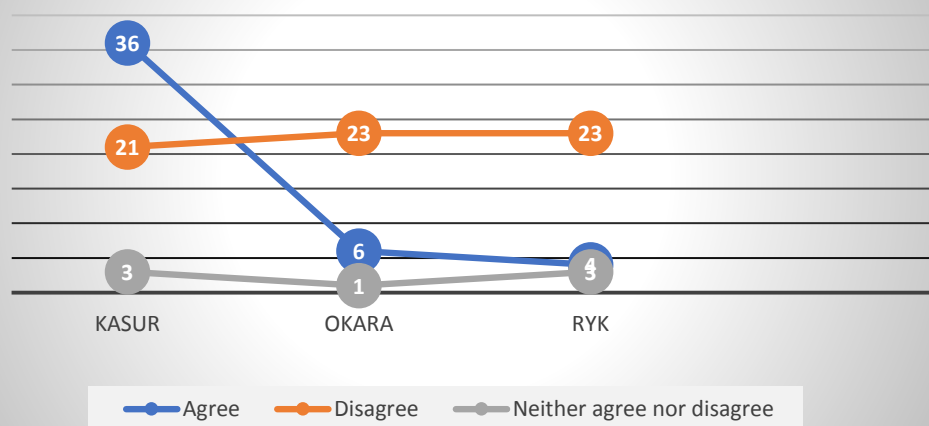


Figure 2. Daughter has to do errand tasks in school



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